

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA



THESIS

**SURVEY OF MINORITY OFFICERS IN THE
NAVY: ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS ON
RECRUITING AND RETENTION**

by

**James E. Jones, Jr.
Willie J. Stigler**

September, 1995

Thesis Co-Advisors:

**Mark Eitelberg
Alice Crawford
Gail Thomas**

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 1

19960304
080

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No 0704-0188
<p>Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.</p>			
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)	2. REPORT DATE September 1995	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's Thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE SURVEY OF MINORITY OFFICERS IN THE NAVY: ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS ON RECRUITING AND RETENTION		5. FUNDING	
6. AUTHOR(S) Jones, James E., Jr. and Stigler, Willie			
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)		10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.			
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.		12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words.) This thesis addresses the reasons why minority officers joined the Navy and their attitudes toward continued service. Focused interviews were conducted with over 100 minority officers in the Navy at various locations around the country. All interviews were taped and then transcribed. Thirteen general themes emerged from the responses of the officers. These themes covered many topics, including the people who most influenced an officer's decision to join the Navy, perceptions of inequitable treatment, and continuing concerns about racism. A number of conclusions were drawn from the research, which revealed a strong opinion among minority officers that the Navy's Equal Opportunity environment and minority recruitment policies can be improved. Recommendations addressed several areas of possible improvement and proposed further research regarding minority attitudes toward the Navy and Marine Corps. This study was sponsored by the Office of the Chief of Naval Personnel (PERS-61) and the Defense Health Resources Study Center at the Naval Postgraduate School.			
14. SUBJECT TERMS *MINORITY OFFICERS, MINORITY RECRUITMENT, RACE IN MILITARY, AFRICAN-AMERICANS, HISPANICS		15. NUMBER OF PAGES 157	
16. PRICE CODE			
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UL

NSN 7540-01-280-5800

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 2-89)
Prescribed by ANSI Std Z39-18

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.

**SURVEY OF MINORITY OFFICERS IN THE NAVY: ATTITUDES AND
OPINIONS ON RECRUITING AND RETENTION**

James E. Jones, Jr.

Lieutenant, United States Navy

M.S.A., University of Central Michigan, 1987

Willie J. Stigler

Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.S. Mississippi Valley State University, 1982

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MANAGEMENT

from the

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

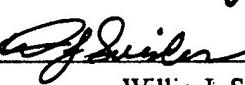
September 1995

Author:



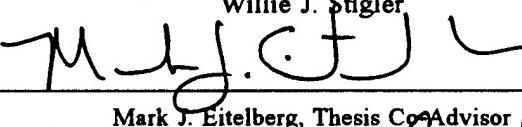
James E. Jones, Jr.

Author:

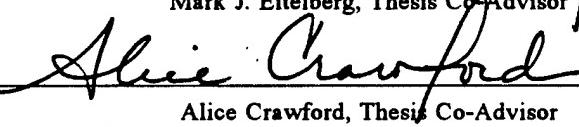


Willie J. Stigler

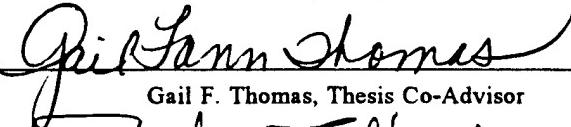
Approved by:



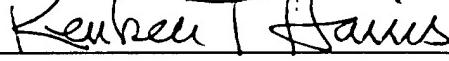
Mark J. Eitelberg, Thesis Co-Advisor



Alice Crawford, Thesis Co-Advisor



Gail F. Thomas, Thesis Co-Advisor



Reuben T. Harris, Chairman
Department of Systems Management

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the reasons why minority officers joined the Navy and their attitudes toward continued service. Focused interviews were conducted with over 100 minority officers in the Navy at various locations around the country. All interviews were taped and then transcribed. Thirteen general themes emerged from the responses of the officers. These themes covered many topics, including the people who most influenced an officer's decision to join the Navy, perceptions of inequitable treatment, and continuing concerns about racism. A number of conclusions were drawn from the research, which revealed a strong opinion among minority officers that the Navy's Equal Opportunity environment and minority recruitment policies can be improved. Recommendations addressed several areas of possible improvement and proposed further research regarding minority attitudes toward the Navy and Marine Corps. This study was sponsored by the Office of the Chief of Naval Personnel (PERS-61) and the Defense Health Resources Study Center at the Naval Postgraduate School.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. BACKGROUND	1
B. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	2
C. SCOPE OF THE STUDY	2
D. BENEFIT OF THE STUDY	2
E. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS	3
II. BACKGROUND	5
A. BLACK REPRESENTATION IN THE U.S. NAVY	5
B. HISTORY OF BLACKS IN THE U.S.	6
C. BLACKS IN THE MILITARY: A BRIEF HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY	7
III. RELATED LITERATURE	15
A. EVOLUTION OF THE U.S. NAVY'S REPRESENTATION POLICY	15
B. RECRUITING GOALS IN OTHER SERVICES	18
C. QUOTAS IN THE CIVILIAN SECTOR	19
D. SOCIAL EQUITY VERSUS MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY	20
E. CNO STUDY GROUP	20
F. THE NAVY'S CURRENT MINORITY RECRUITING GOALS ..	21
G. EFFECTIVENESS	23
IV. DATA, MODELS AND METHODS	25
A. DATA COLLECTION	25
B. MODEL	27
C. DATA ANALYSIS AND THEME DEVELOPMENT	28

V. ANALYSIS	33
A. OVERVIEW	33
B. THEME I: MOST OFFICERS FROM A TWO-PARENT HOUSEHOLD	33
C. THEME II: SOME MILITARY BACKGROUND PRESENT, GENERALLY ARMY	34
D. THEME III: SELF-RECRUITMENT WAS PREVALENT	40
E. THEME IV: ROLE MODELS -- CREDITED WITH DECISIONS TO ENTER	44
F. THEME V: MAJOR REASONS FOR JOINING THE NAVY WERE EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	49
G. THEME VI: EXPERIENCES TEND TO VARY BY COMMISSIONING SOURCE	57
H. THEME VII: MANY MINORITIES BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE TO DO MORE THAN WHITES TO GAIN THE SAME RECOGNITION	65
I. THEME VIII: INTERVIEWEES TEND TO BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN SLIGHTED IN TERMS OF RESPECT OR REWARDS	71
J. THEME IX: A VAST MAJORITY FEEL MOST REWARDED WHEN TRUSTED TO PERFORM AND WHEN HELPING SUBORDINATES	75
K. THEME X: RACE (AND RACISM) IS A CONSISTENT, UNDERLYING FACTOR IN ALL THEMES	82
L. THEME XI: MOST OFFICERS PLAN TO RETIRE WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS	97
M. THEME XII: DOWNSIZING CONCERNSTEND TO FOCUS ON BOTH THE ORGANIZATION AND PERSONAL ELEMENTS .	103
N. THEME XIII: OFFICERS ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE NAVY'S "12-12-5 PLAN"	108

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	117
A. OVERVIEW	117
B. MAJOR THEMES AS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER V INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING	117
C. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	119
D. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	125
 APPENDIX A. NAVY DESIGNATOR BREAKOUT	127
 APPENDIX B. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA	129
 APPENDIX C. INTERVIEW PROTOCOL	131
 APPENDIX D. DATA TEMPLATE	135
 LIST OF REFERENCES	137
 INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	141

x

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Sonnenfeld and Kotter (1982) Model of Career Development 30
2. Model of Career Development for Navy/Marine Officers 31

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Percentage Distribution of Navy Officers by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1984-1994	5
2.	Navy Affirmative Action Plan (NAAP). Recruitment Goals for Officers, 1984-1994	17
3.	Recruiting Goals (Percent) by Service, Year, and Minority Group ..	18
4.	Sample Population by Date and Location of Interviews	27
5.	Frequencies of "Role Models" by Level and Type	45

I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

The issue of representation in the armed forces has evolved over the greater part of this century from the question of whether or not minorities should be allowed to serve, to the current situation where goals are set to achieve a proper "mix" of the races. Over the past few years, much progress has been made by the military services in achieving more equitable opportunities for minorities.

In July 1973, the draft ended and the military became an All-Volunteer Force (AVF). The Vietnam War had fostered attitudes of opposition to conscription and a decreased willingness among young men to serve in the military. The AVF was able to survive the 1970s and prosper during the 1980s. By the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet Union, the US Military was heavily engaged in a force reduction. Yet, there is a concurrent push to increase the number and percentage of Black officers in the Navy.

The Navy achieved its Black enlisted goal of 12 percent in 1983 and has exceeded it every year since. The Black officer goal, although historically set much lower than the goal for enlisted personnel, has yet to be achieved. Currently, the Navy is attempting to reach minority representation among new officers of 12 percent Blacks, 12 percent Hispanics, and 5 percent Asian Pacific Islanders and Native Americans/Alaskan Natives by the year 2001. This objective has been called the "12-12-5 plan" and is based on the estimated percentages that these minorities will represent in the American population by the year 2000. [Ref. 1]

The precise motivation for minorities, particularly Blacks, to join the sea services as officers has yet to be discovered. Although minority recruitment has steadily improved in the Navy and the Marine Corps, neither service can

match the continuing success of the Army in achieving racial/ethnic diversity in the officer corps.

B. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This thesis addresses minority representation in the Navy's officer corps. The primary focus is the choice of minority officers to affiliate with the United States Navy. The purpose of this study was to gather information from minority officers that will be useful for future recruitment and retention. As the Navy embarks on the challenging task of achieving the "12-12-5 plan," it is important to recognize that the issues of recruitment and retention are far more complicated than simply acquiring the proportionate numbers. It is equally important to identify the factors that contribute to these complexities. This study was funded by the Office of the Chief of Naval Personnel (PERS-61) and the Health Resources Study Center at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey California.

C. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study provided an opportunity for minority officers to express personal views about their careers and career choices in an interview forum. The sample consisted of 100 minority Naval officers, ranging in seniority from Ensign to Captain. The number of Hispanic and Asian/ Pacific Islanders interviewed were seven and five, respectively. Therefore, the focus of this study is essentially on Black officers.

D. BENEFIT OF THE STUDY

The results of this study should allow Navy manpower planners and the Naval Recruiting Command to better understand the various attractions, incentives, and disincentives for qualified minority candidates seeking to enter the sea services. Information obtained from this study is directly applicable to the development of marketing appeals for officer recruiting. In addition, the

attitudes and opinions of minority officers currently serving in the Navy will provide a foundation for developing more effective retention programs and policies.

E. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The following chapters look at the background of the issue, existing literature and data collection methods used in the study. The survey data are then analyzed and the results and conclusions presented. The background and literature review attempt to explain how goals or quotas came about by looking at the history of minorities, particularly Blacks, in the Navy and other Services. The data, model, and methods chapter discusses how the data were obtained and analyzed, including a brief explanation of qualitative research and its merits. The data analysis chapter is organized according to recurring themes. Each theme is supported by excerpts from interviews. The final chapter provides recommendations derived from the themes of the minority officers interviewed.

II. BACKGROUND

A. BLACK REPRESENTATION IN THE U.S. NAVY

A look at the Navy's demographics between 1984 and 1994 shows a steady increase in both the number and percentage of minority officers. As depicted in Table 1, from 1984 through 1989, increases in the number of Black officers were mirrored by an increase in the number of officers as a whole.

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Navy Officers by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1984-1994.

RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP					
YEAR	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC	OTHER*	TOTAL
1984	91.9	3.1	1.2	3.8	100.0
1985	91.9	3.1	1.3	3.6	100.0
1986	90.5	3.2	1.7	11.4	100.0
1987	90.2	3.3	1.7	4.6	100.0
1988	90.6	3.5	1.9	3.9	100.0
1989	90.5	3.6	2.1	3.6	100.0
1990	90.0	3.9	2.3	3.7	100.0
1991	89.6	4.1	2.4	3.8	100.0
1992	89.0	4.3	2.5	4.1	100.0
1993	88.3	4.6	2.7	4.2	100.0
1994	89.8	4.8	2.8	2.4	100.0

Source: Derived from data provided by the Chief of Naval Personnel (PERS-61).

*OTHER includes Native American/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, and unknown.

These data demonstrate why the percentages increased at a slower rate than in the later years. From 1989 through 1994, for example, the proportion of minority officers generally continued to increase while the number of Naval officers as a whole decreased with the force drawdown. As a result, the proportion of minority officers increased from 9.5 percent to 10.2 percent--including an increase in Black representation of 1.2 percentage points.

In 1984, Black women represented approximately one-half of one percent of the Navy's officer population. At the same time, Black men represented just over two and one-half percent of the Navy's officer population. By 1994, the Black female population was just above one percent (1.04 percent) of the Navy's officer population and Black male representation had climbed to about 3.8 percent.

Representation of all women in the Navy's officer corps has increased steadily from 9.4 percent in 1984 to 12.5 percent in 1994. Over this period, the total increase in White women has been 20.2 percent (2.2 percent overall) compared with an increase in Black officers (men and women) of 51.4 percent (1.8 percent overall). Black women represent 21.4 percent of the Navy's Black officers. White women represent only 11.9 percent of the Navy's white officers. Thus, increasing Black representation in the Navy's officer corps is seemingly being accomplished through a noticeable increase in the participation of Black women. There has been a 44.8 percent increase in the number of Black male officers between 1984 and 1994. Similarly, there has been an 81.8 percent increase in the number of Black female officers.

B. HISTORY OF BLACKS IN THE U.S.

Recruitment and retention of Black officers into the sea services has been difficult. To fully understand the problem, one should understand the background of Blacks in the United States as a whole. The history of Blacks in this country has been well chronicled since the origins of slavery. Andrew Billingsley cited the impact of slavery on the Black family as the initial cultural

alienation of Blacks and continues through the commonality of racism. He also writes that, from the cradle to the grave, the Black family is continually threatened by the specter of racism. [Ref. 2]

This sentiment was echoed in a book that *Essence* called "a searing indictment of the American criminal-justice and political system." The book, *Black Robes, White Justice*, by New York Supreme Court Justice Bruce Wright, maintains that a natural kind of racist animus is built into American society. There is always a tendency to support, protect, and preserve a system in which one has a preferred role. [Ref. 3]

The history of the American military shows that the military does indeed reflect societal views. However, the military has always been a trailblazer in the quest for racial equality. A chronological summary of the military's experience, as well as the eventual integration of the officer ranks, is presented below.

C. BLACKS IN THE MILITARY: A BRIEF HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY

For the greater part of American history, Blacks have served in the armed forces under varying degrees of involvement, and often with limiting factors placed upon them. Black participation dates back to the earliest days of the republic, when over 5,000 Blacks served in the American Revolution. In the Civil War, Blacks participated in various capacities from the outset, both in strictly military and support functions. By the end of the Civil War, 400,000 Blacks had participated with about half serving as soldiers and the other half as laborers. [Ref. 4]

The great majority of Blacks in the Union ranks served in segregated units, usually commanded by White officers. This pattern of segregation became institutionalized in the Army in the decades that followed. In a reorganization of the Army after the Civil War, four permanent Black regiments were created. Those units, led by white officers, fought Indians and filled

outposts in the West. During this period, Blacks made up about 10 percent of total Army strength. [Ref. 5]

The following discussion chronicles the history of service by Blacks in the military during the 20th century.

1. Pre-World War I

In the early years of the 20th century, patterns of racial segregation and discrimination had become firmly established in the society as a whole. In conformity with the national pattern, sentiment in favor of increased discrimination grew in the Navy, and discriminatory practices were instituted where none had previously existed. [Ref. 6]

2. World War I

The decision was swiftly made to draft Blacks and employ them in many capacities. They served in the armed forces in almost exact proportion to their representation in the population. This proportion can likely be attributed to the use of the draft. About 400,000 Blacks served in World War I. Around 20,000 were in the Navy. A training camp for Black Army officers was established, and 1,353 men and women were commissioned. Approximately 42,000 were combat troops, and the great majority were used in service units and labor battalions. [Ref. 7]

3. Post-World War I

The nation became gripped with racial tension. Blacks felt that their fighting warranted equality while most Whites still subscribed to the view that Blacks were inferior. The intense spread of prejudice and discrimination continued and threatened to impose the complete subordination and segregation of Blacks as "national policy." The Army retained four permanent Black regiments established in previous years, but few opportunities existed for Blacks in the peacetime Navy, where enlistments were sharply curtailed except for service in messmen/steward ratings. [Ref. 8]

4. Pre-World War II

As World War II approached, Blacks served in the Armed Forces on a formally segregated basis, which had grown even more rigid than in the previous decades. A long-range historical trend had developed into increased segregation.

5. World War II

In an official statement, the War Department announced that segregation had proven satisfactory for many years and its abandonment would be detrimental to national defense. In fact, if the military would have had a free hand to determine its mobilization plans, it probably would have inducted a much smaller number of Blacks. [Ref. 9] In the end, Blacks accounted for slightly less than their proportion of the country's population. During the course of the war, over two million Blacks were screened and over one million served on active duty. The Army employed the majority at over 700,000. About 165,000 Blacks served in the Navy, 17,000 as Marines, and 4,600 in the Coast Guard.

Initially, the Navy did not accept Black volunteers, and those already on active duty were restricted to the messmen branch. However, from 1943 to the end of the war, Blacks were assigned to various duties aboard ship and ashore. Among Blacks in the Army, there was one Black officer per 100 enlisted men, compared with one White officer per eight enlisted men. [Ref. 10]

6. 1942

Early in 1942, the Navy began to accept qualified Blacks for general service ratings. In September 1942, "Negro service schools" were opened at Great Lakes and Hampton Institute. [Ref. 11]

7. 1943

In February 1943, volunteering was terminated and the Navy began to rely on the Selective Service System. It was at this point that a tremendous increase in Black personnel placed a strain on the Navy's facilities and on the Navy policy of segregation. Various letters, ALNAVs (naval messages), and

Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) Directives were issued from July 1943 through July 26, 1948 in an effort to integrate the Navy. It was during this seemingly constant struggle to integrate that an effort of even greater magnitude was undertaken by the United States Navy: commissioning Black officers. A handful of Blacks found their way into the Navy V-12 program, a major commissioning source. [Ref. 12]

Although it is difficult to determine the precise start of desegregation, patterns developed during World War II. Blacks attended unsegregated officer candidate schools and, in 1943 and 1944, the Army Specialized Training Program assigned Blacks to integrated units at several universities. At the same time, the Army and Navy both issued publications rejecting theories of racial inferiority. [Ref. 13]

8. 1944

The Navy was the first Armed Service to formally set a plan for integration. In 1944, two "experiments" were conducted with regard to the use of Black personnel. In the first, an attempt to man two Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) vessels with all Black crews failed because they did not possess all of the technical skills required. The other experiment involved the assignment of 25 Blacks to auxiliary ships in the fleet. The goal was to ensure a ten-percent ceiling and maintain some sort of racial separation onboard ship. But, the Blacks became completely integrated with the White complement. Although the latter experiment was regarded as successful, the all-Black crew concept was discarded. [Ref. 14]

The same year, a decision was made to grant commissions to a handful of carefully picked Black men. The staff officers were selected from civilian resources and line officers were selected from the existing enlisted personnel. The group experienced zero scholastic failures. On March 17, 1944, the first 13 Black officers were commissioned by the United States Navy. The "Golden Thirteen," as they were called, were ushered in without ceremony or fanfare. [Ref. 15] By early summer, the Navy had commissioned two Black chaplains,

three medics, two dentists, three supply officers, and two engineers. Other Black officers began to slowly trickle out of the Navy V-12 schools. [Ref. 16]

9. 1945

A grand total of 58 male Black officers were selected and commissioned during World War II. All but five of these officers saw active duty. Two Black "Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services" (or WAVES) officers were also on active duty during the same period and, in late 1945, the Navy commissioned its first Black female nurse. In the period after the war, only three Black officers were on active duty in the Navy, whereas the Army had 1,440 Black officers on active duty as of June 1, 1947. Forty-eight of these were Regular Army officers. [Ref. 17]

10. 1946

The Bureau of Naval Personnel began assigning Black officers to sea duty on integrated ships. [Ref. 18] By mid-year, there were only two Black officers remaining on active duty, and, after January 1947, only one was left. [Ref. 19]

11. 1947

Ensign John W. Lee, a V-12 graduate, became the first Black officer transferred to the Regular Navy on March 15, 1947. [Ref. 20]

12. 1948

The Congressional Committee on Civil Rights expressed dissatisfaction with the low proportion of Blacks in Naval service, with their relatively high percentages in menial occupations, and with their virtual exclusion from the officer corps. On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981, declaring a policy of equitable treatment and opportunity for all in the Armed Services. The Order also authorized the creation of the President's Commission on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, known as the Fahy Commission. [Ref. 21]

13. 1949

Wesley A. Brown became the first Black graduate of the United States Naval Academy (USNA) [Ref. 22]. Also during 1949, 11 months after Executive Order 9981 was issued, Secretary of the Navy Francis P. Matthews issued an Order, requiring all Navy branches to report on their progress toward compliance. The Secretary called it "the first complete, specific and unequivocal racial policy in the history of the U.S. Navy" [Ref. 23]. Data show that the proportion of Black Navy and USMC officers as of July 1, 1949 was virtually nil, or less than 0.1 percent [Ref. 24].

14. 1951 to 1953

Careful studies of the consequences of desegregation in Korea were conducted. Despite the predictions that integration of Army troops would take from 50 to 100 years, desegregation had begun on a large scale in 1952 and was all but completed by the following year [Ref. 25]. However, the percentage of Black Navy and USMC officers as of July 1, 1954 had increased to a mere 0.1 from nearly zero percent as of July 1, 1949.

15. Post-Korean War

In view of combat experience in Korea and World War II, it was possible to assign and promote Blacks on the basis of their experience and merit. The determining factors were individual capability rather than race. According to Coates and Pellegrin, "the continued improvement in education and training allowed a quota system, which had previously required recruiting and admitting of Blacks without proper qualifications, to be discarded." At this point, indications were that the Navy was considered fully integrated. [Ref. 26]

16. Early 1960s

Critics accused the Selective Service System of sending the best and brightest young Blacks to fight in Vietnam, leaving a leadership vacuum in the Black community and condemning a disproportionate number of Blacks to die in combat. [Ref. 27]

17. 1969

The Broadened Opportunity for Officer Selection and Training (BOOST) Program was founded to increase minority enrollment in Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps (NROTC) units and the United States Naval Academy. [Ref. 28]

18. 1971

Samuel Gravely became the Navy's first Black admiral.

19. 1974

Blacks comprised 8.6 percent of the Navy's enlisted force and 1.3 percent of its officer corps. [Ref. 29]

20. 1976

The first Black female midshipman was admitted to the United States Naval Academy. [Ref. 30]

21. 1979

The number of Black officers in the Navy had increased nine-fold since 1964, but still accounted for less than three percent of officers. Edward Hidalgo became the first Secretary of the Navy of Hispanic origin and Horacio Rivero became the first Hispanic four-star admiral, serving as Vice-Chief of Naval Operations.

22. 1980

Command Managed Equal Opportunity (CMEO) was initiated to place responsibility at individual command levels to ensure that personnel received fair treatment and opportunity.

23. 1985

CMEO was implemented and the Minority Officer Accession Task Force (MOATF) report was approved by the Chief of Naval Personnel. The MOATF analyzed the contributions of various programs toward attainment of established minority officer goals. These goals were set at 6 percent Black, 3 percent Hispanic, and 2 percent "other," for a total of 11 percent minority.

24. 1986

The Baccalaureate Degree Completion Program (BDCP) was initiated. BDCP granted scholarships to students who had completed at least two years of college. Recipients of the scholarships were obligated to serve four years in the Navy after graduation.

25. 1990

Blacks accounted for 3.3 percent of officers in the Navy, and Hispanics comprised 2.3 percent.

26. 1992

The proportion of Navy officers who were Black rose to 4.3 percent. Three of these officers were admirals.

27. 1994

Minority representation in the Navy's officer corps was approximately 4.9 percent for Blacks and about 2.9 percent for Hispanics. Throughout history, the military has been the testing ground when bringing about social change. Religious freedom, sexism, and racial equality struggles were all waged in the military first. Indeed, those struggles, in particular racism, have not been smooth, as borne out by the class privilege and racial injustices that are reflected throughout the history of the American military.

As Binkin and Eitelberg observe in *Blacks and the Military*, "although blacks have taken part in all the nation's wars, the armed forces openly sustained the indignities and humiliation, the discrimination, and the stereotypes of racial inferiority" while limiting the entrance of minorities in times of peace. However, the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century are clearly laced with ideas for change. [Ref. 31]

III. RELATED LITERATURE

A. EVOLUTION OF THE U.S. NAVY'S REPRESENTATION POLICY

Two policies that form the foundation of the Navy's struggle toward achieving equality are the Navy's Equal Opportunity Program and the Navy's Affirmative Action Plan (NAAP). Both policies evolved from the DoD Human Goals Charter, which was originally issued in 1969 by the Secretary of Defense. This document is a statement of the rights, worth, and dignity of every individual and reaffirms the commitment of the Department of Defense to fair treatment of all personnel. [Ref. 32]

The Navy initiated its Equal Opportunity Program in the Fall of 1974 to counter racism and provide equal opportunity to all personnel. The Navy's Equal Opportunity Program prescribes policies and guidance to all personnel to ensure an environment of equal opportunity without regard to race, color, religion, gender, age, or national origin. It places responsibility at the command level to counter discriminatory practices, as well as for developing unit policies and training programs that foster a climate of equal opportunity and ensure fair treatment of all Navy members. [Ref. 33]

The purpose of the NAAP is to correct or eliminate institutional and personal discrimination on the basis of race, ethnic group, national origin, religion, or gender. [Ref. 34] All Services are making an effort to recruit minority accessions and are striving to make progress toward meeting recruiting goals. To reach this prescribed percentage of minority officers of the general population, the Navy must provide sufficient accessions to achieve and maintain its goals regarding demographic composition. According to the 1991 NAAP, the Navy had a goal to achieve, as a minimum, a minority officer inventory of 6 percent Black officers by fiscal year 2000 and 3 percent Hispanic officers by fiscal year 1999. The plan was to commission a minimum of 7 percent Black and 4 percent Hispanic officers from each accession source to support reaching the designated goals by the respective target years. [Ref. 35]

These minority officer inventory goals were based on the racial/ethnic composition of all college graduates in the United States. Goal achievement is projected on past recruiting performance and new initiatives. Minority officer accessions from the United States Naval Academy (USNA), Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps (NROTC), Aviation Officer Candidate School (AOCS), and Officer Candidate School (OCS) are tracked annually.

The goals set for minority representation in the late 1980s and early 1990s are already obsolete and out of line with current targets as embodied in the "12-12-5 plan." Table 2 shows the actual NAAP recruiting goals for the Navy between 1984 and 1994.

Table 2. Navy Affirmative Action Plan (NAAP): Recruitment Goals (Percent) for Officers, 1984-1994.

YEAR	RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP (PERCENT)		
	BLACK	HISPANIC	OTHER*
1984	3.8	1.6	3.8
1985	4.9	2.1	2.0
1986	3.3	1.6	2.3
1987	3.5	1.8	2.1
1988	3.8	2.1	2.1
1989	3.8	2.1	2.1
1990	3.9	2.1	2.0
1991	4.1	2.2	2.0
1992	4.3	2.3	2.3
1993	4.5	2.4	2.4
1994	4.9	2.9	2.5

Source: Derived from data provided by the Chief of Naval Personnel (PERS-61).

*Other includes Native American/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, and unknown.

B. RECRUITING GOALS IN OTHER SERVICES

A 1975 study by the Human Resources Research Organization (HUMRRO) provides more background on the evolution of recruiting goals. The study clearly points out that there was no coordinated Department of Defense (DoD) policy on minority representation, noting wide variation of officer representation objectives among the services. The objectives shown in Table 3 were in place when the HUMRRO study was conducted.

Table 3. Recruiting Goals (Percent) by Service, Year, and Minority Group.

PERCENT OF ALL RECRUITS			
SERVICE	YEAR	BLACK	OTHER MINORITIES
Army	1985	10	5
Navy	1980	6	2
Air Force	1980	5.6	1
Marine Corps	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Derived from data provided by the Chief of Naval Personnel (PERS-6T).

In fiscal year 1974, the proportion of minority officers on active duty was 4.6 percent. Compared with the percentage of minorities in the general population, (12-percent), this figure was quite low. Nevertheless, the Navy and Marine Corps worked toward increasing the participation of minorities in fiscal year 1974. The effort was reflected in the age and rank distributions, which showed unusually high concentrations of junior officers. The HUMRRO study also showed that goals may not translate easily into actual representation. If the representation of Black officers were to be increased, the Navy would have to reduce losses, increase accessions, or both.

A 1976 report by the Secretary of Defense observed that the shortage of minority officers continued. But, the question of what constituted an "acceptable" level had still not been solved. [Ref. 36]

Another study that provides some background on the development of minority officer goals is a 1993 report by the Center for Naval Analyses. Although the study focused only on the Marine Corps, it provides useful information concerning the pool of 1990-1991 college graduates: five percent were Black and three percent were Hispanic. Only about two percent of the Black college graduates and two percent of the Hispanic graduates met the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) standards set by the Marine Corps for its ROTC program. Yet, the 1993 minority officer goal was 6 percent Black and 3 percent Hispanic. It is clear that the Marine Corps and, more importantly, the Navy, must recruit more than just a proportionate share of qualified minorities to reach their goals. [Ref. 37]

C. QUOTAS IN THE CIVILIAN SECTOR

The military is only one of many organizations that has developed specific programs or policies to achieve recruitment goals. The civilian sector has been monitored for many years on its adherence to government-imposed affirmative action policies and hiring quotas. For example, many police and fire departments have quota systems in place to capture a "representative" share of the population.

Although the Johnson administration introduced the concept of "affirmative action" in the 1960s to apply toward the hiring practices of large companies, the term was never fully defined. The Nixon administration cleared up certain misconceptions when its Department of Labor issued Executive Order Number 11246, requiring that companies create employment quotas and time tables to increase the representation of minorities. This policy was enacted to combat discrimination in hiring members of minority groups and to prevent underutilization because of race. [Ref. 38]

Certainly, not everyone agrees with quotas. An author in *Industry Week*, for example, ridiculed business quotas by proposing that professional sports teams be fully representative of the American population. The author contends that professional sports would "collapse from incompetence" if they disregarded excellence and appropriate skills in exchange for a socially acceptable mix of people. Calling it "economic suicide," the author suggests that this situation is analogous to that in the business world, predicting the same fate for American business if it is forced to comply with hiring quotas. [Ref. 39]

D. SOCIAL EQUITY VERSUS MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY

There is more at stake than economic and social well-being when we turn from business to the military. Unlike the private sector, which, by virtue of profits and losses, must concern itself with effectiveness and, by law, must concentrate on social equity, the Armed Forces must also factor into the equation the demands of "political legitimacy" [Ref. 40]. The military continues to struggle with all three of these issues--effectiveness, equity and legitimacy--which are often at conflict with one another. Policymakers have been trying for years to achieve a healthy balance among them.

E. CNO STUDY GROUP

In 1988, *The CNO Study Group's Report on Equal Opportunity in the Navy* correctly predicted that the Navy would fail to achieve its Black and Hispanic composition goals by fiscal year 1992, even considering the gains in years prior to the study. The study also predicted the Navy's failure to achieve 6 percent Black representation among its newly commissioned officers by fiscal year 1996. Only time will tell, but if the latter prediction is accurate, then what can be expected of the more lofty goals that have been established for the year 2000?

The concept of goal-setting for increasing or maintaining certain minority composition levels appears to be functional, based on the steady increases of the past. The only true test of this concept, however, is time.

F. THE NAVY'S CURRENT MINORITY RECRUITING GOALS

The Navy will be taking in more African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, and other minority officers between now and the turn of the century. The Navy's goal is to have a mix of minority Naval officers that is comparable to the racial/ethnic composition of the projected U.S. population of the year 2001.

On June 17, 1994 the Secretary of the Navy, John H. Dalton, released a policy statement establishing new goals for minority officer recruitment. The Secretary stated that this goal could be achieved for officers who do not require graduate degrees by the year 2000 and, at that time, accession rates could be in the range of 10 to 12 percent for African-Americans and Hispanics, and 4 to 5 percent for those of Asian or Pacific Islander extraction.

Secretary Dalton also requested that the Chief of Naval Operations, Commandant of the Marine Corps, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Manpower & Reserve Affairs) submit a plan by July 15, 1994 on how they will achieve this goal. In a briefing prepared for the Secretary of the Navy (dated July 29, 1994), the following strategies were proposed:

1. For each commissioning source:
 - Improve application/selection process
 - Maximize effectiveness and minimize attrition
 - Develop focused initiatives and a Plan of Action & Milestone to achieve minority commissioning goals
 - Chief of Naval Personnel coordinate and monitor execution of all plans
2. Direct Recruitment Initiatives (Field a focused recruiting program with Baccalaureate Degree Completion Program as the cornerstone):
 - Expand program from two to three years

- Assign Program Manager at selected institutions
 - Focus advertising to create awareness/generate leads
 - Continue evaluation/analysis of other alternatives
 - Tuition/Loan repayment program
 - Contract recruiting
3. In-service Procurement Initiatives (Execute a detailed publicity campaign for each commission program):
- Print media as well as official communications
 - Increase command/deckplate awareness and solicit applications
 - Review program selection board precepts and supplementary guidance
 - Streamline application process
4. NROTC Initiatives (Streamline application process):
- "Immediate selection" for bluechip scholars (1280 SAT, 650 Math and top 20 percent of class means on-the-spot scholarship)
 - Early notification of selectees (within 7 days)
 - Award four year scholarship to all midshipmen
 - Increase monthly stipend to midshipmen (currently \$100 per month -- unchanged since 1972)
 - Ensure NROTC funding supports requirements
5. USNA Initiatives (increase minority representation):
- Increase field minority counselor billets from three to six
 - In-service publicity campaign to solicit applications from Navy family members
 - Charter Association of Naval Service Officers (ANSO)/National Naval Officer Association (NNOA) members as USNA Information Officers
 - Privately funded scholarship program
 - Congressional interaction for minority awareness
 - Streamline accession process
 - Selection yearly in August/USNA Preparatory School offers with upgrade to direct appointment
 - Early decisive use of Superintendent's nominations (50)
6. Other initiatives (initiatives under discussion):
- Commander Naval Area Recruit Command assist in USNA recruiting
 - Increase Naval Academy Preparatory School (NAPS) minority enrollment
 - Create U.S. Navy Preparatory School

In addition to the above measures, the plans include awarding 25 four-year dental scholarships, 75 two-year college scholarships, and providing for larger numbers of graduate school scholarships. According to a high-ranking official in the Office of Minority Affairs, with downsizing or "right-sizing," the goal of 12-12-5 can be reached by the year 2001. [Ref. 41]

G. EFFECTIVENESS

The mission of the Navy is to protect and defend the shores of the United States and those of its Allies. In meeting this objective, the military has struggled to obtain the necessary mix of personnel that will strengthen its mission effectiveness, political legitimacy, and social equity. The military has been, and will continue to be, the "battlefield" for many social issues, and searching for its own proper minority makeup is no different.

Addressing the issues of equal opportunity versus organizational needs, and social good versus military effectiveness, while striving for a balance based on current policy, has been and will be a sensitive task for military leaders, Congress, and the American people. On the one hand, the military's mission must come first. On the other hand, the value of personnel cannot take a back seat. Military personnel must feel that they are important to both themselves and to the job they perform. If a person's morale is high, he or she will be more effective in whatever endeavors are undertaken. By providing the necessary framework or ingredients necessary to peak a person's morale, the military improves its effectiveness and succeeds in obtaining its primary objective. If any part of the organization is weak, it tends to have a damaging outcome on the organization as a whole. The nature of the minority makeup in the enlisted ranks, without regard to the minority makeup in the officer corps, may affect the overall morale in the Navy and, thus, the organization's mission objective. Consequently, it is important that the Navy make the proper decision on its demographic composition from an institutional point of view.

If the institutional point of view is not consistent, the costs could be considerable in terms of both congressional funding and public support.

The "12-12-5 plan" appears quite optimistic when viewed in historical perspective. Throughout history, the recruitment rate for minority officers in the Navy has been quite low. In 1990, there were just over 3,000 minority officers in the Navy. In 1993, the recruitment rate for African-Americans was between 4.7 and 4.8 percent, while the goal was 6 percent. But, in spite of high goals and the currently low recruitment, with force reductions and other changes, Navy leadership feels that the new objectives are attainable. There is room for skepticism, however, since the Navy has had great difficulty with its previous goal of 6 percent for African-Americans.

When dealing with the issue of representation, military leaders, Congress, and others must stay focused on the primary goal of the military: defense of the United States and its Allies. Even in times of fiscal austerity, trying to achieve a social balance along with military effectiveness will likely involve additional expenditures for increased recruitment, advertising, incentives, manpower, and other unforeseen costs.

IV. DATA, MODELS AND METHODS

A. DATA COLLECTION

This thesis uses information obtained through in-depth interviews, supplemented by theoretical research and focus-group discussions. The sample consisted of 88 Black, 7 Asian/Pacific Islanders, and 5 Hispanic Naval officers, ranging in seniority from Ensign to Captain. Both male and female officers were included in the sample. In addition, various officer communities were included to gain a wide variety of professional background and experiences. Appendix A provides the exact breakdown of officers in the sample by community and Appendix B provides demographic data. All known commissioning sources were also represented in the sample, including a retired Warrant/Limited Duty Officer to further vary the backgrounds. A Marine Corps General was briefly interviewed to supplement this thesis in the area of his expertise as the Head of Manpower for the Marine Corps. Retired Navy Captain Emerson Emory was also interviewed to obtain information about the founding of the National Naval Officers Association (NNOA), an organization that appears to be pivotal if the Navy is to be successful in reaching its minority recruiting goals.

Personal interviews, which were conducted by both researchers, were recorded on audio cassettes. One-hundred interviews were conducted with minority Naval officers to determine various influences on their career decisions. The information was then transcribed, verbatim, for ease of analysis.

The first interview was recorded on video cassette in addition to audio cassette. The video recording was viewed by a panel of professors to critique the authors' interviewing techniques. Feedback was given to increase proficiency in the acquisition of relevant information. In addition to viewing a video of the initial interview, the authors observed more experienced interviewers with feedback and coaching from Faculty Advisors.

To be a successful interviewer, one should create an open atmosphere that brings out the best in the subject. People do not have an overwhelming willingness to talk about their past and vividly discuss the details with people they do not know. One technique the authors discovered by studying more experienced interviewers was to engage the interviewee in casual conversation prior to the interview. Another even more useful technique was to keep the interview conversational in nature. This style allowed the subject to relax, talk more openly, and sometimes be quite expressive.

Racial/ethnic minorities are apparently more comfortable exchanging their stories with persons who they believe have similar backgrounds, experiences, and a perceived understanding of those experiences. The authors, by virtue of their race and a combined total of nearly 30 years of Naval experience, both as enlisted servicemen and as officers, were generally able to strike rapport with the subjects early in the interview.

The interview questions were open-ended and allowed the subjects to openly discuss any matter he or she felt was related to the issue addressed. A list of the basic questions can be found in Appendix C. The responses given by the interviewees sometimes required additional questioning to clarify or distinguish answers. This is common with respect to open-ended questions. The additional questions prompted by responses in earlier interviews sometimes became part of the base questions in later interviews. This was done without any intention to prejudice answers, but rather to acquire different insight regarding points of view.

Extensive travel was undertaken to accomplish this research. One interviewer attended three NNOA Regional Conferences and the other attended the NNOA Annual Convention. Table 4 lists the date, number of officers and location of the interviews.

Table 4. Sample Population by Date and Location of Interviews

DATE	PLACE VISITED	NUMBER OFFICERS INTERVIEWED
April 1995	Monterey, CA	9
May 1995	Washington, DC	3
May 1995	Alameda, CA	8
June 1995	Quantico, VA	1
June 1995	Memphis, TN	4
July 1995	Monterey, CA	21
July 1995	Washington, DC	16
July 1995	29 Palms, CA	1
July 1995	Dallas, TX	1
August 1995	Washington, DC	15
August 1995	San Diego, CA	3
August 1995	Los Angles, CA	2
August 1995	Norfolk, VA	14
August 1995	Alameda, CA	2

Note: There were 105 interviews done, 2 were lost by the first interviewer and 3 by the second, leaving 100 for inclusion in this thesis.

B. MODEL

Sonnenfeld and Kotter's (1982) "Model of Career Development" shown in Fig 1 was instrumental in developing the original protocol.

Figure 2, "Model of Career Development for Navy/Marine Officers" was adapted from Figure 1 to incorporate the idiosyncratic nature of military officers' careers.

The Navy structure is such, that the three primary means of attaining commissions do not fit well with the Sonnenfeld and Kotter model, Figure 1.

Figure 2 was designed to encompass education as a portion of both the training pipeline and the work history, particularly for NROTC and Naval Academy attendees. An adjustment to the Work History category of Figure 1 was necessary because when examining the Navy's career path, the employer remained constant even in those cases when individuals changed jobs or designators. By the same token, rarely is rank or salary increased due to those changes. The same held true within the training pipeline, if an individual grew dissatisfied with the direction things were headed he or she could usually opt out into something more satisfying.

In the Sonnenfeld and Kotter model, the level and/or quality of education that one has, normally influences greatly the type of career that one enters. However, in the case of the Navy, the order is reversed. The level or quality of education that one expects to obtain is a strong influence on one's decision to enter into a Naval career, again with NROTC or Naval Academy attendees. The time of commitment to the Navy varied immensely, first because of the time in which NROTC scholarships and appointment to the Academy are issued, and secondly because the officers commissioned through OCS are further along in their life and their schooling. All these differences prompted the development of Figure 2, which in turn led to the development of the open-ended questions shown in Appendix D.

C. DATA ANALYSIS AND THEME DEVELOPMENT

The data were compiled on templates, see Appendix D, and were then analyzed to obtain simple statistical trends and to identify recurring themes from the perspective of Black officers with respect to current and future representation in the Navy. The career decision model was used to organize themes. [Ref. 42]

Techniques described by Strauss and Glaser (1967) provided guidance for data collection and theory development. Features of the career model were the starting points. [Ref. 43]

Sonnenfeld and Kotter developed a conceptual model of career theory using a life cycle approach. Arrayed along the horizontal axis of historical time are nine categories of variables necessary to understand an individual's career choices. The theory, similar to Levinson's (1978) study of a mans life, offers a dynamic view of career stages that interact with an individual's life -- past, present, and future. [Ref. 44]

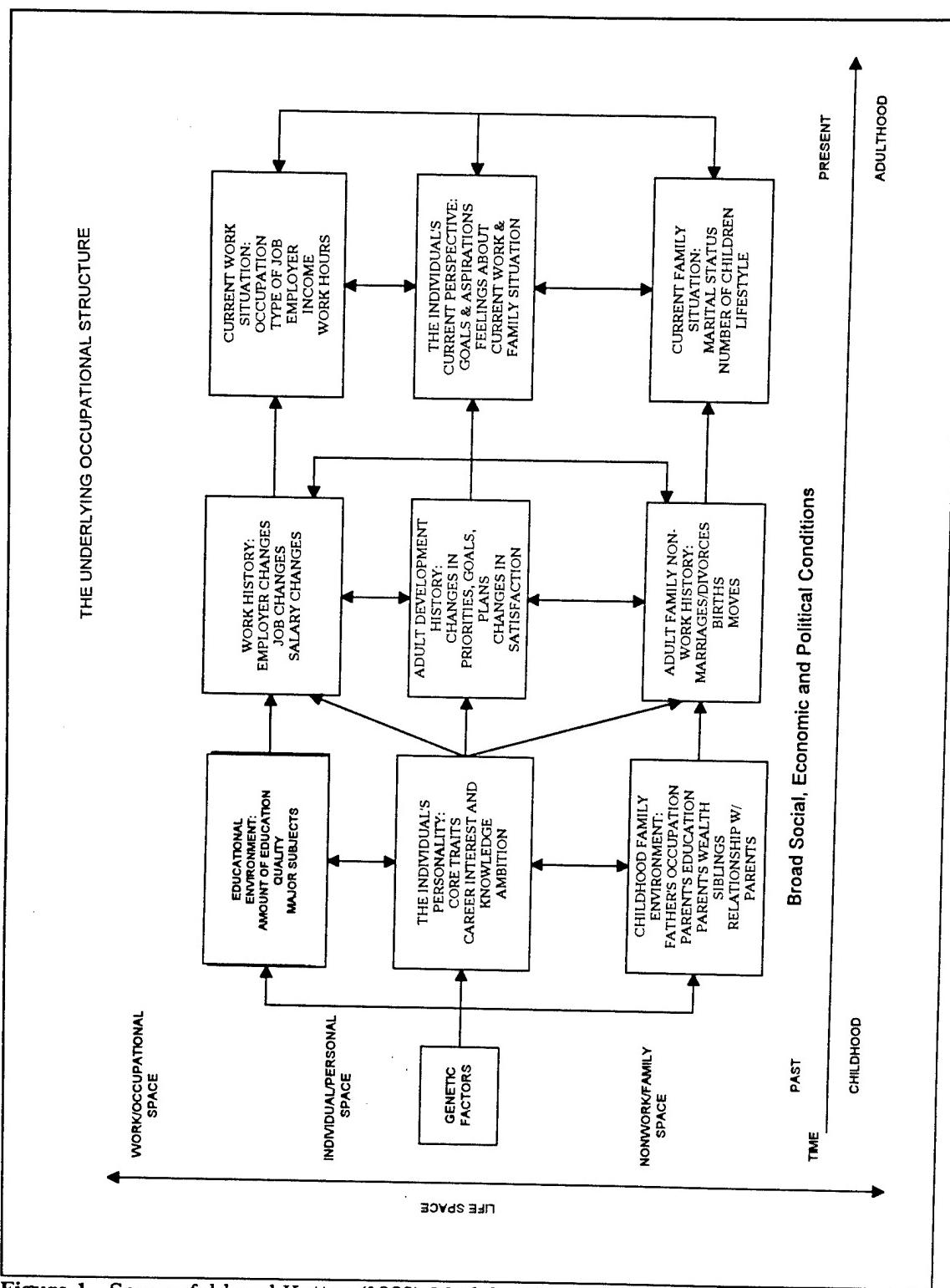


Figure 1. Sonnenfeld and Kotter (1982) Model of Career Development.

Officer's Occupational Structure

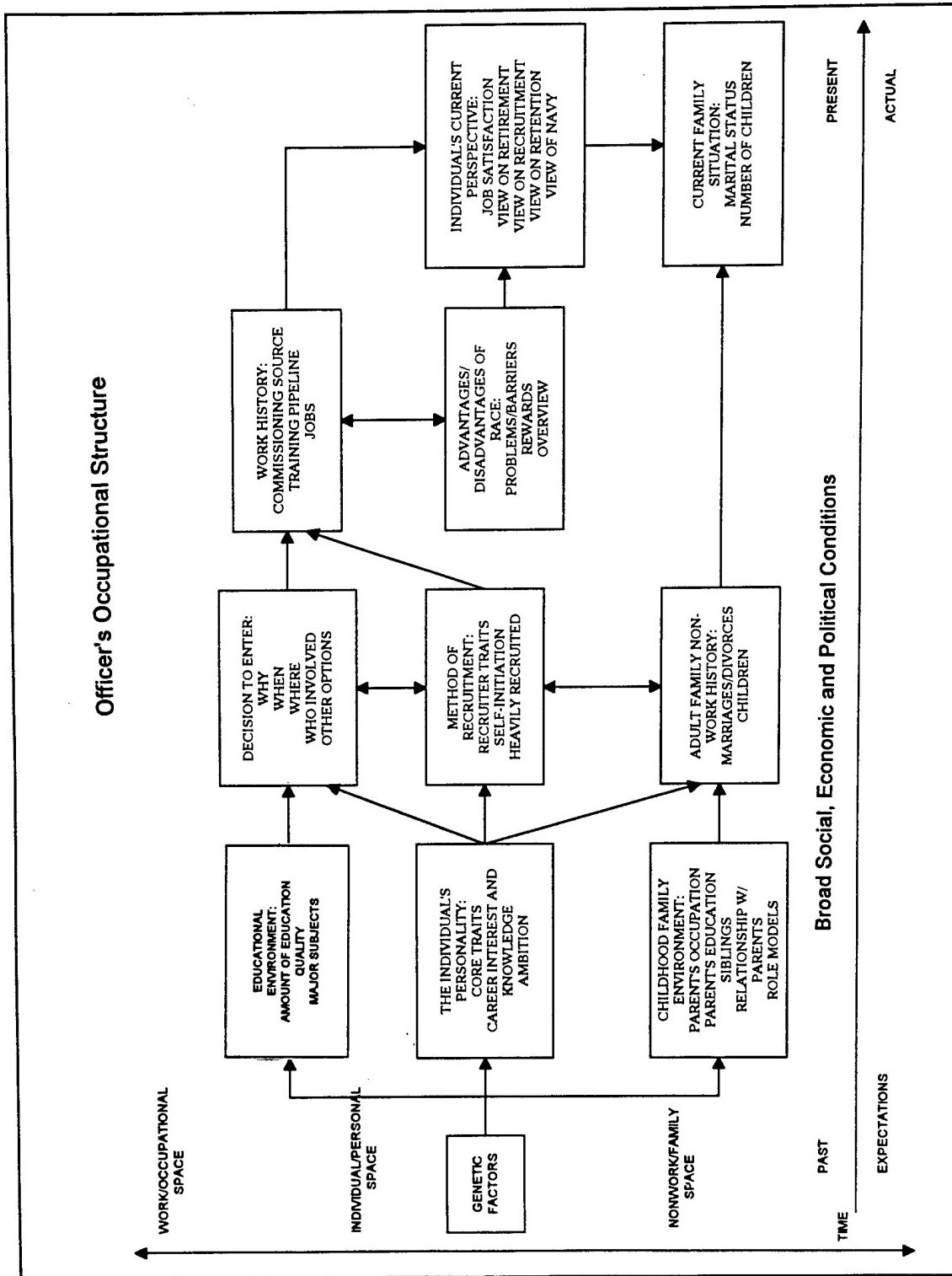


Figure 2. Model of Career Development for Navy Officers.

V. ANALYSIS

A. OVERVIEW

The data analysis yielded thirteen prominent themes. These themes are presented along with supporting justifications. Each justification is reinforced with excerpts and/or quotations that exemplify the opinions of the Black officers interviewed. Relationships are noted when a commonality of category exists, such as in commissioning source or gender, and appear to affect the results. The first five themes relate to early civilian and military influences prior to the career commitment. The next six themes relate to commitment and personal career assessment. The last three themes were derived from the interviewees responses to institutional issues and or effect on minority representation. The "Model of Career Development," shown earlier in Figure 1, was instrumental in developing the original protocol. A variation of the model (see Fig. 2) was necessary to conform to the Navy structure.

B. THEME I: MOST OFFICERS FROM A TWO-PARENT HOUSEHOLD

1. Theme

The vast majority of the officers (81 of 100) interviewed were from two-parent households. Of the 19 remaining interviewees, four had fathers who were deceased. Fifty-four of the 81 officers from a two-parent household also had two working parents. The remainder (37 officers) were raised in the so-called "traditional" family, with a father working outside the home and a mother at home.

2. Justification

This theme was derived directly from demographic information taken from the officers during the interviews. Even in those instances where both parents worked, a majority of the jobs held by the mothers could generally be classified as traditional female jobs. For example, many mothers worked as

teachers, nurse's aides, nurses, or seamstresses. One of the officers had a mother who worked as a forklift operator, though this was far from the norm.

C. THEME II: SOME MILITARY BACKGROUND PRESENT, GENERALLY ARMY

1. Theme

Seldom was there a strong Navy background present in the immediate family of the officer. This could possibly be attributed to the Navy's poor reputation in the Black community. Although the Navy is actually the first armed service to integrate [Ref. 45], the Black community viewed stewards (a traditional Navy occupation for Blacks in the earlier years) the same as bellhops and other servants in the civilian sector. Even if the Navy's bad reputation is ignored, the Army still emerged as the service of choice among the immediate family as well as extended family of the officers interviewed.

2. Justification

Black representation in the military has generally been highest in the Army and lowest in the Navy during the period of the All-Volunteer Force. This is true for officers as well as enlisted personnel. For whatever reason, the Navy has developed a reputation as the "lily white" service in the minority community -- and this is often reflected in comparative levels of Black participation in the Navy.

Among the officers interviewed, nine had parents who had served in the Army compared with three Navy, three Air Force and one Marine. Seven officers had brothers or sisters who served in the Army, compared with five Navy, one Air Force and two Marines. Finally, when viewing their extended families -- that is uncles, aunts, and cousins -- the numbers were as follows: nine Army, five Navy, six Air Force and two Marines. An aviation Lieutenant

(FFF)¹ whose father was a retired Air Force enlistee had influences from every branch of the military within his family as well as in his childhood environment:

My father retired, and we lived in a military town. So a lot of my friends were military kids, I was constantly surrounded by the military. I have cousins and uncles who were also in the military. I have nine uncles, all have served in the military at one time or another (Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps).

A Supply Corps Lieutenant Junior Grade (NNN) whose father also served in the Air Force related the following:

My dad was enlisted in the Air Force and most of my uncles were enlisted in the Army ... A couple of my great uncles were in World War II, and my mother's brothers were in Vietnam. I had to get my parents to sign for me. And my mom, she didn't want to do it. 'No, I don't want you joining the Navy'. She had quite a few people that she knew that had been in the Navy and didn't have good experiences. She had them come visit me. They said I wouldn't make it past E-4. Pretty much, they were saying. It's a white man's organization, and everybody is going to try to hold you back... They told me all the negative stuff, but that didn't change my mind.

One Engineering Duty Officer Lieutenant (JJJ) whose father served in the Air Force and his two uncles served in the Army, expressed a unique reason for joining the Navy:

I, at the time, was being pigeonholed by my dad to follow in his footsteps (in automotive engineering) into General Motors. At age 17, I felt I needed to leave Michigan and grow up on my own. So I entered the (enlisted) Navy because it had the lowest percentage of Blacks and it sort of intimidated me, and I needed to sort of

¹ The code that appears here and elsewhere in parentheses (e.g., FFF) are used to identify the interviewee and to locate the corresponding transcript and data sheets for the interviewee. These codes contain no identifying information directly on the individuals interviewed.

confront that fear of being a minority and meet it head-on. So I picked the Navy out of the rest of the services.

A Lieutenant Commander (AAA) on his initial intent to join the Army:

... it was something I flirted with. I applied for Army ROTC scholarships and ended up ... a second group alternate. The reason why I didn't go into ROTC was I had gotten two academic scholarships. I was offered an appointment to West Point which I turned down.

A Lieutenant (OOO), Naval Academy graduate, had visions of attending West Point. When discussing his earliest memories of a desire to enter service, he had this to say:

Well, originally I planned on going into the Army around probably the seventh and eighth grade. I saw a movie about West Point and the discipline. I don't remember the title. After I saw it, I later heard about the prestige and everything that went along with graduating from one of those places. The long lineage of the generals, former presidents, and secretaries of the state, and all the great statesman throughout the country.

A Lieutenant Junior Grade (MMM) had this to say when asked about her earliest memories of wanting to be in the military:

God, I guess I was probably in high school. I never really thought about being in the Navy. It used to be the Army because I liked the Army, they were more physical and I was fairly athletic when I was in high school and so I was looking for something kind of challenging physically. Then I got to college, it was my sophomore year, I was almost flat broke, didn't know how I was going to make it to school next year, and I had started getting some literature on the Navy and that was how I got interested in the Navy.

A Navy Captain (EEE), described a discussion he had with a district manager on his civilian job prior to joining the Navy. The manager suggested

time (2 or 3 years) in the military to make up his mind about what he wanted to do. The Captain (EEE) assumed that his manager was suggesting that he join the Army -- noting that first lieutenants were being shot in the back by disgruntled enlistees in Vietnam at the time. The manager pointed out that he was talking about the Navy, not the Army. The Captain's (EEE) response was as follows:

And being Black, I had no conception of what naval or naval officer, naval service, I knew nothing about that ... [on the other hand he had the following to say about the Army]. My father was an infantry lieutenant. He died in Italy in 45', 46' I was 18 months old. I knew something of Army at least, I knew that my father was an Army officer. I mean, I had some identity, okay. I knew all of nothing of the Navy. I knew at least five other officers that served with my father ... all Black, all Black I never knew a white officer period.

A Lieutenant (J4), whose father had retired from the Army had this to say:

Okay, I've been interested in the military I guess since probably the tenth grade, actually maybe the eleventh because I grew up around the military. And I wanted to be a detective, a lawyer, a fireman, and finally, I snapped to reality and said I want to be in the military, that way I don't have to --- once I get in, I don't really have to go out and search for a job. I'm in the Navy because my father was Army.

A Lieutenant (J5) said that his primary reason for joining the Navy was as follows:

I have an older brother who was in the military at the time and his comments were somewhat positive. ... he was a sergeant in the Army.

A Lieutenant (J9), when asked whether his father had pushed him toward the Navy gave this response:

That's a good question. My father was in the military. He was in Vietnam. And he's a disabled veteran from the Vietnam War. Retired E-4. And that retirement is due to his disability. What was I going to say about that -- I don't know, I guess watching a lot of movies on t.v., those real old movies about being in the military was probably somewhat of an influence. But I can't say that from day one I wanted to come in the military. I think just because there was a recruiting stand on campus and they said we'll pay for your undergraduate degree was enough of an enticement for me to do it.

Lieutenant (J10) whose father was retired Army (enlisted) gave this comment when asked what prompted her to come in the military:

Um, when my dad was stationed over in Germany and there used to be this Black female captain, Army Captain, and she sang in the choir at the chapel where my mom was the pianist, that's where I first got the interest.

An Ensign (J17) had this to say on the topic:

Earliest memories about being interested in the military. Well, when I just -- when I was about to graduate from high school, it was in my senior year, I really didn't know what I wanted to do, my grades weren't that good in high school. I really wasn't interested in education at all, to be honest with you, during high school. I just wanted to have fun. I was on the gymnastics team. I was the president of the Junior American Red Cross Association in my city, the youth chapter. But I wasn't into education -- I didn't like books. And I wanted to do something when I graduated from high school that wouldn't involve a lot of studying and a lot of books. And a friend of mine, a good friend, one day told me that he was joining the Navy, and that I could join and we could go in together in the buddy program. And so it sounded like a good idea to me. And so we went down and we signed up. He signed up that afternoon and brought me down there later on to sign up after him. Unfortunately, there were no more slots for the billet that he got, so we couldn't go in on the buddy program, so I decided to come on in on my own anyway without him...

A Lieutenant (J21) on his father, a marine:

My father was in the Marine Corps during World War II. He was a enlisted Marine, but that didn't really interest me in coming in. He didn't talk about it much.

A Lieutenant (J36) on his father, retired from the Army:

I didn't start thinking about the military -- well, I grew up in the military environment. My father is retired Army... And I swore up and down that I would never join the military because having to move place to place all the time, but when I was a senior in high school I just didn't know what I wanted to do. So, the choices were -- my father's options that he gave me were get a job, go to college, but in either case, you're moving out of the house at 18. I don't know how many days it were left till graduation, so graduation was rapidly approaching, I still didn't know what I wanted to do, and I knew for sure that I wasn't going to go back to school, not college ... so I actually was ditching class one afternoon and a friend of mine was talking to the Navy recruiter and I went down to give him a hard time about joining I ended up talking to the recruiter and enlisted that day. So that's kind of how it happened. There was really no forethought to joining the Navy. It was just a ... spur of the moment thing. Spur of the moment though my father had always taught us or told us if you do join the service, join the Air Force or the Navy because you'll get some sort of education out of it.

A Commander (J41) speaks about his family's military background:

The most impression made on me was my Uncle Gilbert who served in two World Wars and the only reason they couldn't keep him in Korea is because they found out his age and made him come back. He was on his way to get on the boat, and they said 'no, no, no, no, you're too old, come back here.' And my Uncle Robert who was on my mother's side of the family, he was the Seabee 2nd Class Petty Officer and my Uncle Gilbert was on the first Black Chief Petty Officers in the Navy, one of the earlier ones. So, I had a lot of role models, there was no choice. I had no choices. Okay. The marvelous thing about having no choices is that I had -- I did have a choice -- either death or success. So those were my choices.

A Lieutenant Junior Grade (J49) when asked "what are the earliest memories you have about being interested in a military career", said this:

From my mother's perspective. She was in the military Uh, yea, she joined the military right after she got out of high school and her and her first husband, and she got her degree, and she was a Captain when she came out which was in -- she went in 1954 and she stayed for four years.

D. THEME III: SELF-RECRUITMENT WAS PREVALENT

1. Theme

For the most part, the interviewees became interested in joining the Navy through someone or something other than an individual recruiter. This does not mean that advertising or other forms of recruitment were not influential. The interviewees simply expressed an absence of personal recruiters in the process.

2. Justification

American military leaders traditionally have come from the more privileged social strata. Even though there are no major sources of information on the subject, a collection of material published over several decades suggests that the socioeconomic character of the officer corps has been changing. Janice H. Lawerence and Diane C. Brown dubbed it the "democratization" of the officer corps. In support of this claim, they point to the following: (a) the increasing percentage of officers drawn from the working class; (b) a sharp increase in self-recruitment, especially among the sons *or daughters* of noncommissioned officers; (c) changes in geographical distribution of ROTC units, with increasing presence at "less prestigious hinterland institutions" and southern schools; and, finally, (d) the increased representation of Blacks and other racial or ethnic minorities. [Ref. 46]

Sixty-five of the one-hundred officers interviewed said that they themselves had initiated the process and carried out the bulk of the

responsibility of the application process through entry. The other 35 dealt with recruiters in one form or another. Twelve of the officers dealt primarily with a minority recruiter while the remaining 23 dealt primarily with a majority recruiter.

One USNA graduate Lieutenant (111) alluded to the "less prestigious hinterland institutions" (referenced above) when he commented that there is a difference in the Navy between an African-American coming out of the Naval Academy and one out of any other institution in the United States. The difference, according to the Lieutenant is that "the institution" looks at an African-American coming out of the Naval Academy as less militant, less hostile, and less Black.

Another officer, Lieutenant Junior Grade (NNN), who attended NROTC at a Historically Black College, said of the unit:

I would say we had problems getting quality people besides the people who came off active duty, or people that probably were recruited by somebody outside the unit.

A Lieutenant (J4) had this to say:

Well, the -- this is a funny story -- on the day I actually decided to join the Navy, and like I said, I was at VMI, and I hung around the Marine guys. And a lot of those guys played rugby. And they were pretty crazy. And the moment that I decided to join the Navy -- I want to record this part -- was when they -- I was invited to a rugby party, and I went to the rugby party afterwards, me and my roommates, and I was looking at all the Marine Corps, prospective Marine Corps officers that were there, and what they were doing. And they were actually like sitting there eating pizza, they'd just like eat as much pizza as they could, chug down a beer, and then they'd put their finger down their throat and vomit. And then they'd start picking up the pepperoni chunks and eating them again. And I says, that's it, I don't want to be in the Marine Corps. I don't want to be associated with these guys in any way, shape or form. And I says I definitely want to go into the Navy.

A Chief Warrant Officer (J6) had the following comment about leaving home:

Yea. It wasn't a hard decision because I come from a family of ten and I guess the normal pattern of thinking is you get out and make room for everybody else, snap your plate on the countertop on the way out to let them know that you're gone and you're not coming back. So, I figured it would be easier on my parents if I wasn't there, if I just get out and make my own way rather than hang around, or go out and try to fight it in the world and then lose and come back and have to lay it up on them. I felt they've already done their job in raising me to that point. So, it was my job to get out and go on.

A Lieutenant (J12) when asked what made him choose the military:

Um, my dad had taken me up. We had like a four-bedroom house and he took me into his office where he did all of his paperwork and sat me down, told me about maybe I should go in the military, and because they couldn't afford -- I think it was right at that moment I decided well, that's what I'm going to do, because I could have stayed at home and went to junior college for a couple of years, but it was time to get out of the house and get on my own. So I decided that that's what I'm going to do...

Commander (J21), when asked who prompted him to join the military, spoke of his father and other family members but eventually credited his high school counselor with helping him make the decision.

A Lieutenant (J28), when asked why he joined the Navy, said he wanted to be a "social worker":

Probably just when I got -- when I -- I guess I became curious when I read the social work newsletter and it just said that the Navy was looking for social workers, so I was a little curious, and I called the 800 number. Before then, no interest at all, even though my father was in the Navy and enlisted. No interest before that.

A Lieutenant (J27) was influenced to join by a recruiter:

Well, actually I didn't decide. I was trying to get a commission in the Air Force. I was dissuaded. I was told we don't commission enlisted people. I had my plans, I'm getting out. A Navy recruiter was being seen in our clinic, and one of the corpsmen or technicians was talking to this recruiter about commissioning programs because I guess she recruited or commissioned nurses and doctors. And from a distance I heard them talking and they mentioned my name and she pulled me aside and said, 'I understand you have a particular degree that can give you a commission. Do you want one?' And because she asked me, I thought about it, went home, got a call the next day or the same day that somebody was interested in coming over to see me and laid out the plan on how I can get commissioned, and I went for it.

A Lieutenant (J31) gave this reply when asked why he joined the military:

It just was something I decided to do on the spur of the moment. I just one day I wanted to do something different, and I went and saw the recruiter.

A Commander (J41) said he was influenced by the draft, Vietnam, and the desire to apply his technical ability:

... I got drafted before -- that was during the Vietnam era when I got drafted. And on the screen for a Black kid in his early -- in his teen years, all we ever saw was those Black guys down in Vietnam. I mean we were told that all the time that you were going to the front line, if you were a Black guy, you were dead meat ... You're going to be a grunt soldier marching through some village getting shot at. So, rather than go do that, I went into the Navy. And then I also went into the Navy because a retired Black Army sergeant came to me and said that I had -- that the recruiter had talked to him and that I had some of the highest scores they'd ever seen and it would be a waste of my talents to not go into somewhere where my technical -- where I could use my technical learning.

A Lieutenant (J50), on his educational goals and incentives:

No, I just read about it in a book, in the American Psychological Internship something book, whatever. Because in order to complete a Ph.D., you have to go to complete an internship. So when you apply for the internships, most internships don't pay a lot of money, and at the time when I was applying for internships, I was living at home with my folks because I was working part-time, I couldn't afford to live on my own, and I had to get out of New York. I just -- I was afraid, I wanted to get out of there. So - - so some of the financial incentives were good and the prospect of having a secure job post-internship were also good. So anyway, so that's why I -- that's the only reason I was interested, that's one of the reasons I was interested in joining the Navy ...

A Lieutenant (J74) on the major influences for joining the Navy:

My father was my greatest role model. He always provided for the family. Not just our family but all the people in the neighborhood who needed help. He was a neighborhood example. When I wanted to get commissioned, both, my parents recommended I finish my Master's and then apply. My father asked one of my uncles to talk to me. This uncle was a Colonel in the Air Force. He recommended I go into the Air Force but the Navy offered me 0-3 so I entered the Navy.

E. THEME IV: ROLE MODELS -- CREDITED WITH DECISIONS TO ENTER

1. Theme

This theme was developed directly from the information given by the officers interviewed. The officers were given the opportunity to discuss role models and influential people in their lives during their childhood. These role models were grouped into three categories: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Often, the interviewee would state that "their primary role model was ... or another person who was a pretty good role model was ..." The categories were determined by the order in which the individual role models were mentioned in response to the open-ended question about their role models while growing up. It should be noted that some interviewees did not specify role models for

all three categories and some did not specify any role models at all. The three categories yield five subdivisions: father, mother, church members, teachers, and others. Table 5 summarizes the distribution:

Table 5. Frequencies of "Role Models" by Level and Type.

Level	Father	Mother	Teacher(s)	Church Members	Other
Primary	36	8	4	0	6
Secondary	8	31	6	1	6
Tertiary	0	1	5	4	12
TOTAL	44	40	15	5	24

2. Justification

The justification for this theme lies in the excerpts that follow:

A Lieutenant Commander (LLL) had several role models and had this to say about them:

I know my father was my biggest influence on me. And then my grandfather, his dad. And beside that, my idol, one of the people I've studied all my life and I'm most proud of is Martin Luther King ... My grandfather, he spent some time in the Navy. And when he went in, he was interested in all the different types of rates/jobs that were available at the time and was basically told here are some pots and pans, you're a cook. As a matter of fact, that ended up being his profession.

A Lieutenant (OOO), a native of Gary, Indiana, classified his hometown as an "all Black" city. There was no shortage of Black role models where he grew up:

Everywhere you looked there ... I mean you have all Black role models ... The mayor was Black, the principal was Black, all our high school coaches were Black, teachers are Black, city council are Black so, I mean everywhere you look you see Black people

doing well ... The ROTC staff were my favorite teachers, particularly Sergeant First Class Stewart. He was a great guy ... he helped a great deal to get me into the Naval Academy because during my sophomore year I got suspended from school for being drunk at a basketball game ... he actually helped through the administration ...

A Lieutenant Commander (CCC) who had served six years as an enlistee in the Air National Guard prior to joining the Navy said that she had actually become interested in being commissioned in the Navy during a trip to the recruiter office to enlist her younger sister in the Navy. This is how she described it:

I was hooked up with the recruiter. It was really interesting at that time, too, because in Chicago on PBS (Public Broadcasting Station) station they were showing the recruiters. I saw a group of women on television where they were looking for more women to join the service. And apparently that was a deciding factor.

A Lieutenant Commander (AAA) gave his father credit for having the most lasting influence upon his ability to adjust and function within the Navy. He cited his father when discussing his experience at his commissioning source:

I was a squared away officer candidate. I felt like I was better than the average officer candidate. The influence that my father brought into my life, that of discipline and being neat and putting things where they always belonged. The sense of balance and discipline he brought me up in, I think those contributed. Especially, the way I kept my uniform. Basically, I used him as a primary role model.

When questioned about whether his father had influence on his decision to join the Navy, the Lieutenant (AAA) provided a mixed response:

Somewhat. I don't know, I guess when you're a military child, you can do one of two things, either consider going in or getting as far away from it as possible ...

A Lieutenant (JJJ) said teachers were his role models:

I had a pretty broad mix of high school teachers which were really talented. Perhaps my favorite teacher was my math teacher who was a white male who really challenged me and, I guess, recognized that I could do math. He never accepted poor work from me. He always graded me harder in the sense that he knew I could do better ... My English teachers were really good. Everybody was disappointed to see me enlist in the Navy. So I realized that everybody had an interest in me. For the most part they were really great, great role models for me.

Lieutenant (111) spoke of a very athletic friend of his brother who, while attending the Naval Academy, paid a visit to his high school. It was at that time that Lieutenant (111) basically decided that he was going to pursue a commission in the Navy. The question was posed, do you consider him a decent role model? The interviewee had this to say about the individual:

Yes, especially coming from my neighborhood. There weren't many people leaving high school going to a top-rate college or university or institution. So I was definitely impressed when he came back in his uniform, looking good. Then you know what you could do and how you could change your environment.

A Lieutenant (222) shared a fairly similar experience regarding his role model. Although the individual who made the impression on her wasn't specifically from her neighborhood, he had just as strong an impact. She had this to say when asked about her impressions of him:

Well, at the time -- he was impressive. He had gone to Tuskegee, had a degree in, I believe Electrical Engineering, and was a pretty sharp guy. He was very cocky, but, I mean he was an aviator, so what can we say ... At the time he sparked my interest in it and I think a lot of other people's interest also.

A Lieutenant (444) did not particularly have role models in her school. She identified three women as being prominent role models:

My mother was definitely my strongest role model and she passed away when I was sixteen. I have a very strong-willed independent grandmother, she was one. And there's another lady who was a very dear friend of my mother ... Who, now that I think about it, was in the Air Force back in the 50s and early 60s. She has been like a mentor and kind of led me in the right direction as far as what to study ... Her husband was a Tuskegee Airman. I remember him telling me stories about when he flew. So, that must have stuck with me somewhere back there [pointing to her head].

The same Lieutenant (444) also pointed to a discussion with the son of the lady or mentor mentioned above. The son had previously served time in the Navy. He had told her "first of all, don't let them enlist you. You've got a degree, so you want to go for officer programs." He also told her that he had enjoyed his time in the Navy and was a little disappointed that he got out.

A Commander (J1) referred to his brother:

My brother, my older brother went -- he's about four years ahead of me. He went through college totally paid. He was an officer when he got out. He talked to me a little bit about what he did and it sounded like a good way to go.

A Lieutenant (J3) mentioned his father, ex-Navy, and uncle, ex-Air Force:

Well, I've got a -- my father was ex-Navy, then my family has a track record of members serving in the military. My uncle, he enlisted in the Air Force. He'd come back home and tell you all these stories.

A Lieutenant (J8) mentioned his father:

At the time I was living in Virginia with my grandparents while my dad was stationed in South Carolina. Around there there wasn't a lot to do job-wise and stuff, and I really didn't even consider going to college at that point in my sophomore year and the only thing that I knew was the military. My dad had made a pretty good career out of it, so that's what I was leaning towards and then later on as I became a little bit older, I got more

interested in officer programs and stuff like that, and especially when I lived with my -- went to live with my parents again. I started to get pushed in that direction. Not so much pushed, but turned in that direction. I started to think about that more so than doing anything else.

Lieutenant Junior Grade (J49) had several role models, but mainly her mother:

I participated in a semester or two of ROTC which I did like the staff sergeant, he was a very nice guy, and everybody looked up to him. I think it was more or less like my mother because she was a school teacher and she'd done a lot that when we had functions at school, she was like the main participator in a lot of parents -- it was always like my mother was always in the forefront of our lives, so she was my role model early on. If you mean entertainers, that sort of thing, I think it would probably be like a Diana Ross type of thing.

A Lieutenant (J74) mentioned his relatives, but mainly one uncle who was an officer in the Air Force:

My family has a strong military background. Most were in the Army but several of my uncles were in the Navy. One Uncle, as I told you before was an officer in the Air Force. When I finished college and wanted to move from the small town I grew up in, the military was mentioned by my father and mother. I think because my uncle who was an officer was just retiring and telling them about all the benefits ...

F. THEME V: MAJOR REASONS FOR JOINING THE NAVY WERE EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

1. Theme

The earlier the decision was made to join the Navy, the more likely it was made to obtain education. Entry for education was common for individuals who were commissioned through USNA or NROTC. The one direct appointment/ retiree also emphasized education as an important reason for

selecting the Navy. The direct appointment/ retiree obtained his Bachelor's and Master's degrees while serving in the Navy and was subsequently commissioned as a Lieutenant Commander. The factor that most influenced the OCS commissioned officers was related to employment. Logically, a case can be made since Officer Candidate School requires a degree for attendance. The decisions were also made at different stages in each individual's maturity. Reasons given by OCS officers for joining the Navy included wanting to fly and the like, but the common theme was economic.

The ROTC scholarship programs, NROTC included, were described as something of a "scholarship draft" for needy students who have few opportunities to pay for a college education. Although the need for financial support to attend college exists for most families even during economic good times, it exists even more during economic bad times. [Ref. 47] When you consider that a majority of the officers interviewed were from working class families, the economic climate can be equated with the ability to pay college tuition. Several officers stated quite succinctly their reasons for entry.

2. Justification

The two Naval Academy graduates, Lieutenants (111) and (OOO), who entered the Academy immediately after high school cited the payment of college tuition as the major factor, with Lieutenant (OOO) saying, "my decision was scholarship-driven." The one remaining Naval Academy graduate, Lieutenant (JJJ), initially enlisted in the Navy for the reasons cited earlier, to avoid following in his father's footsteps. However, he subsequently stated, "My primary goal was getting some savings so I could enter college after my enlisted service, or have the Navy send me to ROTC or the Naval Academy."

There were two officers who indicated participation in the Bachelor Degree Completion Program (BDCP), (Lieutenant Junior Grade [MMM] and Lieutenant [QQQ]). Both of the officers later attended OCS and AOCS, respectively. Two NROTC commissioned officers, Lieutenants (II) and (NNN), utilized the Enlisted Commissioning Program (ECP) to obtain their degree.

Lieutenant (NNN) initially entered the NROTC unit through the BOOST program. BDCP and ECP are programs designed with education as the focus. Sixteen of the 25 officers interviewed cited education (and tuition assistance) as the factor that solidified their decision to join the Navy.

Economics factors were even more prevalent among those individuals, generally OCS commissioned officers, who committed to the Navy for employment purposes. The following comments were some of the most common:

A Lieutenant (222), a 1700, related the following story:

After a minority aviator spoke to the African-American Association about opportunities available to Blacks in the Navy I was prompted to visit the recruiter's office. That visit kind of gave the idea that I needed to take a test, get an interview, and get a physical to get into the Navy, and even at the time I was inquiring, deep down I was not serious about ... So, I avoided the recruiter for months because, of course, I was still interviewing and I thought surely, one of these high tech firms are going to hire me. So, I really was thinking once I got this job offer, I'm not going to need the Navy. As it turned out, job offers didn't come. So, as it got closer to graduation time, seriously, I looked more seriously at the Navy.

Another Lieutenant, (777), who was five semester hours short of obtaining his degree, related his hardship:

... the funds had dried up, basically. I'd have to come back to school for another semester with the expenses piling up. Now, as I recall, I wouldn't have been able to get financial aid because I had used up what was available to me. That would have meant either taking out another loan or borrowing the money through the school. So I decided to try to do it on my own. I got a job, tried to go school. I did okay for a while, but at the time I already had a son who was about two and a half or three years old. I wanted to take care of him properly. Having a job ... made the Navy look very good -- I had also found out that the Navy provided ways for you to go to school.

Although economic considerations weighed heavily, one OCS commissioned officer actually made an even stronger case for the educational rewards of joining the Navy's officer corps. He pointed out that one of the Deans at his university suggested the Navy as a career as he neared the end of his college studies. Lieutenant Commander (AAA) was advised to seek a designator in which he could achieve a graduate degree. He has since completed a master's degree, is currently serving in a choice billet in Washington DC, and states, "Everything I'm doing is foundation work for a life outside the military."

From a different perspective, the officers commissioned through NROTC units initially entered for education. The mere fact that a job or obligation was attached to the end of that education did not seem a major factor as did deferring the cost of college. Several interviewees made comments to support that philosophy.

A Ensign (555) related the following:

I took the ASVAB test, scored high on it. I had high grades, good GPA and everything already, and I was applying at the universities for regular scholarships, and wasn't considering the military, but when the recruiters started calling me because of my test scores, and offering me a scholarship, it couldn't hurt. And I got an Air Force scholarship and a Navy, or, a Marine Corps scholarship ... Most of the teachers took an interest in the kids grades. I was in a magnet school. There were always concern about what our interests were and making sure we keep our grades up, and what our aspirations were as for as going to college ... I guess from an early age I always knew I was going to go to college ... Teachers kind of inspired you to do well and to go to college and make something of yourself.

A Lieutenant Commander's (LLL) parents were both educators at the university level, a sort of implied emphasis on education. The lieutenant commander spoke of his father always pushing his older brothers toward ROTC attendance. It was a subtle influence on the lieutenant commander, because even after attending college via other means, Lieutenant Commander (LLL)

eventually joined an ROTC unit. The father never specified which branch or ROTC unit to pursue. The two older brothers chose the Air Force; one receiving his commission and the other quitting ROTC after only year. The father's recommendation was general advice:

He was always pointing out to them (the older brothers) that if the opportunity presents itself, that they should go through the ROTC program and try to get a commission because that will be a better situation. Maybe he saw something coming, I don't know, but that was a big thing for him.

Lieutenant (RRR) had aspirations of entering the health field and he ultimately wanted to go to college and then to medical school. He was in a position to do just that. He had attended Brooklyn Technical High School in New York City which he described at the time, as the third-highest rated high school in the country. One had to take an entrance exam to get in. It was all "college prep." He had graduated number one in his class. Lieutenant (RRR) commented on the demographics and his move away from immediate college attendance:

And I would say it was basically evenly distributed, white, Oriental, and Black. There were some Hispanics, not much. It was basically a college prep school. I went there, I received a scholarship to go to college, but I turned it down to join the Navy and kind of hang out with my buddies. I got interested in the Navy in my junior year of high school. Basically, a couple of buddies and I started kicking around the idea of joining the military instead of going straight to college. And during my senior year, I went to the Delayed Entry Program and basically enlisted. After a month of Boot Camp, I saw that I really was not interested in being enlisted, I went to the Boost Program.

The Lieutenant's (RRR) brother was commissioned in the Marine Corps while the lieutenant was in junior high school. Because Lieutenant (RRR) identified his brother as his sole "role model," he was asked if there was any particular reason he chose the Navy and not the Marines. He responded:

Basically, after having a discussion with his older brother, he said if "I were really interested in science and engineering ... if I really want to go somewhere and use my brain and my background I should do so in the Navy and not really in the Corps.

When asked about his most rewarding experience in the Navy, Lieutenant (RRR) was short and to the point:

The opportunity for education. I got both my Bachelor's degree and now I'm getting my Master's degree through the Navy.

Lieutenant (TTT) had an opportunity to get a scholarship. He and his family were just out of the family business, which would be cause for concern if the Lieutenant's (TTT) family was forced to pay for his college. Lieutenant (TTT) described himself as a "scholar, rebel, college boy." Prior to that point, he described himself as anti-military. He stated, "I had no desire or had ever entertained the thought of the Navy or of the military." Even when considering his self-professed, anti-military posture, Lieutenant (TTT) accepted an ROTC scholarship and the subsequent obligation for military service. He said that the value of an education outweighed the meager obligation.

Commander (J1), when asked "did your father guide you toward the military", gave this reply:

That's a good question. It really wasn't any -- my father worked in the Civil Service so I was familiar with military bases and stuff like that because he worked on a number of bases. But I never really had an interest in being in the military until I started thinking about going to college, and was looking at scholarships and stuff, and ways to pay for college, and the ROTC scholarship paid for the whole thing.

A Lieutenant (J3), after finishing college, made this statement:

... there was nothing at home, the economy was stagnant, so I figured what the hell, this can't be no worse than what I've got then look at all the other things that I can compile on top of it. And I

walked down to the recruiter and said hey, what do you have available and I told -- well, as an enlisted I was in the aviation community, and I told him that that's the only way I wanted to go back was if he can offer me aviation. He said well, I can offer you a chance to fly. It was like well, I'll take that. And I walked down, took the test and did what I had to do and there I was.

Another Lieutenant (J5), after talking about his brother's service in the military, gave this reason for joining:

No, no, he was a sergeant in the Army but no, I guess the main reason why I looked at the military was because of the opportunity to learn a skill, to get the money for college, to see something other than the small town that I had grown up in.

A Lieutenant (J12), when asked what made him choose the military, mentioned education and finances:

Eventually my father, my parents were pretty financially strapped at the time, and my dad recommended the military because they couldn't afford to send me to the college that I had been accepted to, so I looked into -- the Army had been calling the house and I one day just went down and talked with a Navy recruiter and took the AZAD test and I was going to, I was going to be an NET and then another recruiter said hey, have you taken the SAT and I said yes. And he said 'well, what was your score,' and I told him I can't remember what it was, but he introduced me to the Boost Program, and so I went that route.

A Commander (J21) spoke about his decision to attend the Academy:

I think the primary reason was I was trying to get an education, and the Naval Academy was just a source, I didn't know anything about the Navy or the Naval Academy when I applied.

A Lieutenant (J26) gave this reason for entering the Navy:

When I received my award letter from Michigan State and it stated we were not going to give you too much of a scholarship, only a few thousand dollars, and I realized that it was going to

cost a lot of money to go to medical school, and that's when I decided that the military scholarship was not a bad deal. It was all financial.

Commander (J41) mentioned his entry through an Historically Black College:

I graduated from an Historically Black College. We were the last class to graduate from that NROTC class because they closed down that NROTC, so it was mixed, it was sad by we were happy. I was very happy. I completed my degree. I was very happy because I had started to -- I achieved a goal. I set out when I left home as a kid to get a degree. I got a degree.

A Lieutenant (J50) wanted to get "out of the Bronx":

... I was interested in joining the Navy. And so it seemed like a pretty good deal because the whole -- the way the health -- the health care is moving. So I said well I'm going to have a secure job for three years with a decent salary. When I get out I'm going to be out of the Bronx. My parents live in the Bronx, incentive number one.

A Lieutenant (J51) needed money for his education:

I initially came in as enlisted for the purpose of getting an education. I didn't want my parents to pay for it. You can see my family size and when my mother wrote that first check out and I just -- because she was paying most of my tuition out of my pocket, I went in the military. I had a real good adult Christian conversion although I grew up in the church. And I guess shortly thereafter I decided that the Lord was calling me into the chaplaincy, so the process has been long.

A Lieutenant Commander (J63) also needed money for his college education:

With five children to feed and watching my parents work hard to provide I thought that the least I could do was get a job. When I reached high school, I knew that I must find a way to go to school.

My parents could have paid but I was recruited and when the offer was made, I saw this as the perfect solution. My education would be paid for.

G. THEME VI: EXPERIENCES TEND TO VARY BY COMMISSIONING SOURCE

1. Theme

All six Naval Academy graduates in the sample expressed an inability to interact, particularly early in the process. One Naval Academy graduate cited attendance at the Academy as his "least rewarding experience" in the Navy. Interaction differed among NROTC units, depending on the demographics of the school. The respondents who attended Historically Black Colleges or Universities (HBCUs) generally related positive experiences. HBCUs are Black academic institutions established prior to 1964 whose principal mission was, and still is, the education of Black Americans. Certain institutions established after 1964 were designated as HBCUs by the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. [Ref.48]

There were instances where several universities were incorporated into joint NROTC units. Even when the respondents attended the HBCU portion of this Co-op, they were not as positive about their experiences. Interaction and relationships at OCS were similar to those related by officers commissioned through NROTC at non-HBCUs, with the possible exception of those who attended OCS Preparatory School, who all felt that they had developed lasting friendships there.

2. Justification

Three findings of Roebuck and Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Education*, help to explain the variation in this theme. First, Black students feel more acceptable, more comfortable, and less alienated on HBCU campuses than they do on white campuses. Second, Black students also experience a more satisfying social life on HBCU

campuses than they do on white campuses. Finally, due in part to the previous points, Black students make a better overall adjustment at HBCUs than they do at white colleges.

A Lieutenant (111) , and a graduate of the Naval Academy, explains his initial difficulty:

Naval Academy, day one! Of course, you know, it was not only I, but a lot of people were saying 'what did I get myself into? This is going to be crazy.' I've got to be honest with you, my high school was 99.9 percent Black. So, as far as interrelating, interpersonal skills with Caucasians and other races, I had to work on that ... I was scared ... I learned a lot about life. I learned, especially, about how to relate to other races, origins, and backgrounds. I found out that ... every white person does not hate me ... isn't evil. Because I'm telling you when I left high school I was like hey, I trust no one ... If you weren't African-American, I'm telling you, I didn't trust you ... So, I learned a lot about that.

Another Lieutenant (000) who cited the Naval Academy as his least rewarding experience within the Navy's structure added that he "didn't trust anybody. I wasn't comfortable." When asked, what would make you think you couldn't trust them? he replied:

I mean in reality it's just, it's a perception that I had of Caucasians, that you (I) had as a Black man. Especially in the situation of being a plebe where it's so stressful and you know that there are people out there who are looking to find fault with you so that they can better themselves. And I thought it was more prevalent in Caucasians. So I just -- I didn't trust any of them. I mean we - everything was superficial. He also said that he never really blended in with the mainstream: "Never really ... I would sometimes go to functions with them or out with them so that I wouldn't appear anti-social ... but it was always ... I show up, hi, bye, then I'd go do what I want to do.

[He indicated that this occurred, pretty much, for the entire four years he attended USNA.]

Commander (GGG), an aviator, related his experience in a NROTC unit at an HBCU:

I went to the free summer program at Prairie View, it was an engineering introduction program ... right after my high school graduation. Then I got the notice that I was accepted for the national scholarship ... I originally applied to Texas A &M, and it was A &M that informed me ... I asked if the scholarship could be transferred ... Well, before I had actually experienced Prairie View ... I originally chose Texas A &M because it was a bigger school, a better-known school, and it had a better reputation as far as I was concerned, until I actually got to see things for myself, and that's when I made the decision. Prairie View, it was a very positive experience. Number one, I enjoyed the uniform. It's warm down there so you wear whites most of the time and you were always invited to special events to be escorts for queens and that sort of thing. The university, as a whole, looked favorably upon Navy ROTC. During the time I went there, ROTC was mandatory, Navy or Army, for the first two years you went to school.

One female Lieutenant Junior Grade (SSS) cited attending NROTC at HBCU Savannah State as the most positive experience she has had in the Navy thus far. She stated:

Attending NROTC was my most rewarding experience in the Navy. In the unit, it was the purest experience I've had in the military not as being a woman or a Black. I was comfortable.

Within the NROTC unit at Savannah State LTJG (SSS) felt that she was viewed as a midshipman and her race or sex never became an issue. Since NROTC, however, she felt that she has had to carry her credentials on her person to be taken seriously.

A Commander (J1), and ROTC graduate of VMI gave this comment;

Yea, I hated the discipline. I hated the marching. I hated to wear a uniform. The classes we had to take were kind of interesting, navigation and stuff like that, but the whole discipline stuff was

not something I was used to. I didn't like it at all. It took me a long time to adapt.

Lieutenant (J4) an ROTC, VMI graduate gave the following comment:

Oh. Well, when I initially went to VMI, I wanted to be in the Marine Corps. I wanted to fly harriers for the Marine Corps. And everything was on track for me to be a pilot in the Marine Corps. My grades were good -- well, good enough to fly for the Marine Corps. And I had -- I was doing well in all my classes. The thing that slipped me up was I was too tall -- six foot seven. I couldn't fit into a harrier. So then I said well, okay, I'll fly for the Navy then. Maybe I'll fly eight sixes or something for the Navy. But then I was too tall for that. And I was only like five-eighths of an inch too tall, but I would have lost my legs if I had to eject is what they were saying. And I said okay, I'll go and drive ships. And nothing was promised me, I mean it's just well, these are the career paths you can have, you can be a pilot, line officer, general unrestricted line, and I says well, I'll be a line officer, I'll just be a SWO and drive ships and I went on my first-class cruise and I enjoyed it. I says yes, I want to be -- definitely want to be a SWO when I graduate. And that's what happened.

Another Lieutenant (J8) who attended an HBCU had this to say:

Well, what was interesting -- Old Dominion was a brand new unit. When I got there it was about maybe two years old, and it was unique because it was a -- it incorporated Norfolk State and Hampton which are two historically Black colleges, and it was the first one where all three of them were on the same level. There wasn't a cross town enrollment where there was a major college or a college where everything was kept at, and then you had satellites. They were all three on the same level. So I was exposed to the average or the typical white ROTC unit with the influence of Norfolk State and Hampton and you would do some of the things with some of the students at the other school. You would drill at your school, but as far as activities as the Navy Balls to Field Days to sailing and sail company, orientation, everybody was together. So there was no big emphasis in either direction. And each unit had their own separate responsibility. I think Old Dominion had the admin and Norfolk State and Hampton -- I think Norfolk State had the sailing -- or, Hampton had the sailing since they were right on the water, so everybody had to go

through sailing, so everybody had to end up at Hampton for a couple of weeks out of the time that they were there doing stuff at Hampton University on the boat that the school owned out there. So, you interacted with a lot of other people from the other schools. I can't say that I was treated any different or felt any different because I had friends at all three schools, just from having to interact with and do different things with different people.

A Lieutenant (J9) who attended Villanova felt that NROTC was a good experience:

I think it was generally a good experience. I don't think I can name an incident ever where my race ever came into play that I'm aware of. I lived off campus with four other women, three of us were ROTC together, one Marine and two Navy. And we took good care of each other and made sure our uniforms were all squared away and things like that.

A female Lieutenant (J10) a Naval Academy graduate mentioned the effect of adverse experiences on her drive to do well:

The Naval Academy was -- plebe year wasn't that bad militarily, it was kind of a disappointment because I had this image of this pristine place where officers and gentleman are, and I really believed that and I found out -- it -- from experience of -- race -- it was a shock to me to realize that being a woman was such a big deal. I don't know why it took -- I don't know why that was the first time I ever ran into it, but I remember, in particular I remember the one lunchtime where my platoon leader left me sitting down there at the table for like an hour. And he was telling me things 'why are you here, you're just here to fill a quota,' etcetera, etcetera, etcetera. And 'you'll never make it through.' If I ever see him, I'm going to tell him thank you because of him there were times when maybe I was this close to getting out, but I stayed there because out of spite, because I knew I could make it, but he told me things like 'well, you're too prissy,' and this and that, and so when I told him I said _____ shut up. That for me - - I mean that first year, it was just amazing to me that being Black, being female, it was more being female than being Black.

A Lieutenant (J12) and ROTC graduate felt isolated:

It was -- oh, it was at San Diego State. It was a relatively new ROTC unit at the time. And there were few Blacks. I think the size of our ROTC unit was around 300, 270, 300, and there were very few Blacks. And it didn't really bother me because I -- when you look at the big picture there are very few Blacks in all these places, ROTC, the business world, or whatever, so it didn't bother me. I knew what I came there to do and no one was going to stop me. I kind of had the same situation in the math department at San Diego State. I was the only Black person in my class. Actually, in every class I took, I was the only except for one, there was one other guy who -- he graduated from ROTC the year before I did. But so there weren't, there was -- there weren't any Blacks in any of my classes. I joined -- they had a -- they started an organization of Black business leaders association, or something like that, and I joined that just so I could see some Black people other than walking around campus, to sit and see some other Black people that were there studying something, doing something.

An Ensign (J17) and NROTC leader talked of his isolation and the reactions of others:

I attended Fordham University in the Bronx, but there wasn't an NROTC unit at my school, so I had to go across town to SUNY Maritime College, I don't know if you're familiar with it, it's a Merchant Marine Academy. And so I had to go across town and I'd say ninety-five percent, if not more, of the student body there was white at the time. And almost -- I'd say every student there at the Merchant Marine Academy that was in the NROTC unit that I drilled, where I drilled, was white. So I used to come from across town and be the only minority, there was another minority, but he was from my school, he was a class or two behind me. And so it was interesting. We didn't hang out with them. They didn't hang out with us. We just came to drill and they interacted with us when we drilled and interestingly enough, I became the company commander of the Honor Company, I think during my senior year. And it was just interesting. The people didn't respond to me the way they responded to other company commanders in the past. I don't know if it was because of my color. I don't know if it was because I came from a different school. I don't know if it was because the people that they -- that

were put in the position of commanding officer for the honor company in the past were members of their school so they had been -- they had relationships with those individuals on many different levels just by being in the same school. They played on the same teams, they just hung out, they had different activities together. So they had a much different relationship to begin with. I don't know, that may have been a factor. But they responded differently and it was almost as if they -- let me make sure I -- it was almost as if they weren't excited about me being their company commander. They weren't -- morale seemed to drop just because I was given the position and because I was standing in front of the company every day.

A Commander (J21) and Naval Academy graduate spoke of dealing with others:

Well, as a Black midshipman, at that time we probably had less than a hundred total Black midshipmen in the entire Naval Academy. But fortunately for us we had almost a hundred in our entire class, so there was a lot of companionship, and we developed that right away as freshmen, as plebes. So that was a real big source of support and inspiration. But school in that company was very tough. My First Class said that he had never had any Black people in his town that he grew up, so he was really frank with me and told me that he didn't know how to treat me, and I just told him to treat me like he treated everybody else. So, I did have one Second Class -- at that time hazing had just been prohibited, and I did have one Second Class hit me while I was there.

A Lieutenant (J28), when asked about his commissioning source, mentioned a particular incident:

... one incident in my particular company where one of the ensign white officers made a remark to -- the battalion commander just happened to be my -- right across the hall from me and he was a Black JAG officer and this ensign made a remark to him when I wasn't present that 'it must be real easy for you all being Black officers, the Navy was practically given to you on a silver platter.' And that really ticked me off and I did -- but as long as I said I'm not going to confront him with it -- but I did end up confronting him with it and letting him know hey, I worked just as hard as the

next person, a white, Hispanic, or whatever, to earn my commission and I didn't appreciate that, and whatever.

A Lieutenant Junior Grade (J49) talked about racism and perceptions of the "white" Navy:

...I noticed that um a lot of the Caucasians, male and female, immediately -- immediately thought that -- how can I say this -- they immediately thought that we're going to dislike them for them being white, so either they went out of their way to be nice or they went out of their way to not even associate with you. And we didn't catch -- we -- we had an idea that it was just -- we didn't really get the full grasp of that until like the middle of the program. And I'll tell you an example because my roommate -- I had a roommate -- she was just out of college, she was a white female nurse, and my roommate that was normally scheduled for me to live with didn't show up so they paired us in this room. She immediately thought that because -- well, first of all, she said she thought I wasn't African American, she thought I was another Hispanic/Indian, she felt comfortable, and then when someone said no, I think she is Black, she is, she's Black, she's from Detroit. And this girl is from Phoenix. She immediately said oh, God, she's going to hate me, she's going to hate me, and it was like no. She built herself up to be -- to have that fear, and when they said - - they -- one day I was walking down the hall and they said hey, so and so is your new roommate, I said oh, really, okay. That's good. And then I said ah, man, and she said I told you, she doesn't like me already. I said what are you saying. I said I just thought I had me a room by myself, it had nothing to do with you. 'I just knew, I just knew that you're not going to like me.' So she - - they build this fear up. I got a feeling then I saw other people do it to their Black roommates and the Black roommates they build the fear up that you guys are going to hate me already. I didn't understand that part. And then the ones that felt that way didn't associate with you. There were some who really were true instances racism and they didn't associate with you. It was almost like in particular when I went for Officer Instructional School, the Navy was the white man, why are you here trying to be an officer, this is our thing, you know, you should not be participating, you know you go to Army, any place else, but the Navy is ours.

A Lieutenant (J51), when asked about his commissioning source and the racial environment, gave this statement:

As a chaplain, we encounter a lot of stereotypes, the -- many white chaplains believe that Black chaplains get their degrees through some type of affirmative action or something like that, that my Master of Divinity degree is not equal to his master or her master of divinity degree ... we do get that kind of thing. You have to prove yourself. In chaplain school, you get a fitness report with grades that thank God doesn't count, it doesn't -- it counts but all the promotion boards throw your chaplain school fitness report out because it's under training, it should be an NOB, and just about every minority got a "B" in writing, and they never saw anything I wrote other than test results and those are Navy standard multiple guess, number two pencil, fill in the circle kind of thing. So there was no way to evaluate someone's writing from that. But it was pretty standard that they would do that.

A Lieutenant Commander (J63) related a specific incident and inequity:

While in Officer Instructional School a white guy in my swim company after getting drunk he came back and called me a "nigger." So I got my tape and continued talking to him, he called me a nigger about fourteen more times during the conversation. No one up the chain of command desired to do anything to him. When the guy found out I had taped the conversation he wanted to take the tape. I stood in front of my locker with a wood gun to keep him from taking the tape ... I never hit him, but later I was informed I was being taken to Captain's mast. I received 15 hours of Extra Military Instruction on how to handle this type of situation ... Nothing was ever done to him

H. THEME VII: MANY MINORITIES BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE TO DO MORE THAN WHITES TO GAIN THE SAME RECOGNITION

1. Theme

Almost *every* interviewee made this statement in one form or another. This was a voluntary disclosure since the issue wasn't a part of the protocol.

One Lieutenant (J36), who did not let anyone know he was minority, had this to say:

No, I never -- I never even really thought about it. I've always been -- I've always had the good fortune, I guess good fortune of never having been treated differently to my face anyway so there was never any perception in my mind maybe that's why I'm so surprised by all of this -- I don't really know. Because my last name is A....., and you know I don't necessarily look anything different than a majority. This individual and one other, who both looked majority, felt that all things were equal and in some instances better.

Both individuals were not ashamed of being minorities, but implied their chances of success would be greater if no one knew they were minorities.

2. Justification

African-American managers and executives must not only manage their work, but how others respond to their ethnicity in the workplace. Although the management of work is something that all professionals have in common, African-American professionals have the added challenge of managing their responses and reactions to overt, covert, intended, and unintended racist statements and behavior directed toward them. [Ref. 49] The Navy's workplace is further extended to social gatherings, particularly in the officer ranks. Thus, the challenges of being a military officer may spill over into social functions. One such extension was addressed by a Lieutenant Commander (AAA):

Until we feel comfortable with them, we don't tend to hang around them, go on liberty a lot with them, always feel comfortable at certain wardroom functions ... I think commanding officers have a tendency to misunderstand when they see a minority officer not socialize or go out on liberty so much with their non-minority counterparts as they are being standoffish (meaning socially) or not able to mix, or not working well with people of another race, and grade them accordingly to that view on their fitness report. I think there has to be a coming together and a meeting of the

minds and a putting aside of the fear of dealing with an issue like that head-on.

Another Lieutenant Commander (CCC) experienced these challenges early in her career, within the work environment:

My least rewarding experience is a fitness report, where my CO was telling me that I could not get straight A's because I had to have room to grow and develop and no ensign got straight A's when they were giving my white counterpart straight A's, and I would get lower grades ... in leadership and imagination, which are, you know, leadership is like a kiss of death to some of us, you know, just that I could not be graded on my own merits, but because they came with a preconceived notion.

Another female officer, Lieutenant (222), was getting all A's as an ensign, but related the following experience:

I did a good job. I think my first fitness report I didn't get recommended for early promotion, but at the time I didn't know any better ... it was like okay, this is not so bad. The second fitness ... but, didn't get recommended and I thought hmm, I think I'm supposed to be asking for something here ... I talked to a white female lieutenant ... and she said you want to ask for this, you want to ask for that ...

Still another female officer, Lieutenant Junior Grade (SSS), stated that as an ensign, she was not recommended for early promotion and was told by her commanding officer that, "you want to leave room for improvement."

In responding to the question, "Do you think being a minority has hurt you?", Lieutenant (FFF) talked about overcoming stereotypes and perceptions of lower achievement:

To this point it hasn't hurt me. But, I know I've had to work harder. You hear that all the time and I think when minority officers say they've got to work twice as hard, and you hear every minority officer say that ... a lot of times it starts falling on deaf ears, but it's so true. You have to be able to break out, and you

have to do so much more to overcome the initial stereotypes to get on the even playing field. Then you've got to even excel to be able to break out. So, I think I've had to work a lot harder to get where I am. He later added; that the biggest problem is that they (the majority) are under the conception that we're getting in under lower standards, lower scores, and it's just not true. When you actively recruit from one particular source ... the majority usually try to rationalize in their own mind by saying well, the only reason they can get where I am, is because they must have lowered the scores. And that's just not the fact ... the majority think that they're (minorities) coming in under false pretenses. It's just not the case.

Lieutenant (J4) was hard on the "12 - 12 - 5" but gave detailed comments on the plight of Blacks in the military and their work requirements:

But then you don't want to make it look like they're keeping minorities in just for the sake of attaining a 12 percent goal because then you're only going to hurt what -- you're only going to hurt the way the minorities are perceived because I've noticed, and it's been told to me by -- he's probably Commander ____ right now -- but Commander ____, he was the -- he was one of the -- he was a Black XO on the Charleston, and he says you know, Blacks and minorities have to work harder in the Navy than whites in order to be -- to make that rank -- quote unquote -- be ranked number one amongst their peers. And I -- at first I didn't believe him. I was kind of rosy-eyed and I was like yea, yea, right. But, it ended up happening what he said was true. I looked at how hard -- there was another -- a couple of other Black guys on the ship with me, and I noticed how hard that we all worked in order to remain competitive and how much extra it seemed we had to do to remain competitive compared to like whites on the ship. There was one guy who was a total -- I don't know -- he was a total slickster, I'd say, he was slick. He would not do things -- the way he got ahead was by doing personal favors for the First Lieutenant and because he had some -- this individual had some political aspirations, the captain, the CO was very political, it was like oh, this guy, one day he's going to be a senator, I'll get in good with him, kind of like catering to this guy. But when it came down to actually having how much of your SWO qualifications have you completed and how much of your EI qualifications have you completed, how much of your job do you know and how well and how good are you at your job, this guy was like maybe in the

lower ten percent. He did absolutely nothing. He'd go in, he'd sleep, and I mean we'd constantly see other guys and none of it -- some of the other guys on the ship, like the ones that were perceived as being the SWO's that weren't worthy, you always had to work really hard, we even had to work harder than they did. And we knew that these guys were never going to get qualified. But we even had to work harder than they did. Even harder. And just to get ranked. Just to get ranked at all. And I don't think that's right.

A Lieutenant (J10) on mainstream perceptions of Black officers:

Hurts because no matter how many degrees or what your credentials are, whenever you walk through that door and someone first sees you, you have to get over that first impression, that first impression is you're Black and somehow you are less than average. You don't ever have the assumption of even being average, or let alone above average. You will always be looked at at first glance as being less than average until you -- and then you have to be so careful about what you say and how you do it and this and that and the other. I don't know if you've noticed like here at the Naval Postgraduate School, the Black students here -- we are -- we present ourselves better than the others as a whole, I think. We make a point of being sharp and not having anything out of place because we have to, and I think that's just something that we've just gotten used to. You won't see us in a raggedy uniform, for instance. Can't do it. We don't have that luxury.

A Commander (J21) on getting ahead by doing more than expected:

Whew. Unfortunately, being a minority, you have to do far more than is expected of you and exceed the standards set by the majority probably twofold. Not that it hurts you, it just makes you a stronger person in the long run I think to their detriment by your adversity during your career, you're twice the person on the inside that the majority officer is, and when they have a crisis with adversity confronting them, they really don't know how to react, but on the other hand, a minority officer, he's been in the spotlight his entire career, so when a crisis comes up, he's more than able to respond because it's nothing to him ... one example I can give to their detriment, the commanding officer when I was on a ship made me the MPA ... I guess, thinking that I would either sink or swim in that job. And I was able to respond in an outstanding

fashion, and from that position I was able to become the number one officer -- junior officer on that ship to a lot of majority officers' surprise. And had not I been thrown in that adverse environment, I probably would have stayed behind the pack.

A Lieutenant (J26) when asked about the pressure of performance, had this to say:

Right, right, right, it definitely -- I don't know if it's the system or it's individual pressure, but as a minority, it's kind of drilled into you that you have to work harder just to be on an equal level -- an equal level as your counterparts It's been the whole time that I've been in. I mean even here in the residency program, there hasn't been a Black resident in this program for some years. So, to come into a program like this you have to work harder and you have to say -- you have to prove that you belong to be here and you just can't be average. You have to go above the average for this program just so that you can feel comfortable and feel like you fit in.

A Lieutenant (J27) gave this reply when asked about the level of his performance and equal treatment:

There is a permeating attitude of racism in America, period. And a lot of whites don't recognize or identify with it, but that's how they've been raised, that's how the media project people, Blacks, minorities of any kind, and... Okay. So, maybe some commander, DFA, CO, might stereotypically have this attitude about a minority and expect him to perform far above everybody else so that he could treat him or that person as an equal. He has to prove himself. The minority has to prove themselves to do more, work harder, to be treated equal, while the majority or white doesn't have to do as much.

A Lieutenant (J28) had this to say about making it in today's Navy:

I definitely feel that if I'm not 150 to 200 percent that as far as rank-wise and especially against being in the social work department against the HCA's and everybody else in those other departments that may be quote unquote more visible than I'm going to be in the social work department, I definitely feel that I

have to produce at least 150, 200 percent when I'm doing either OOD duty, collateral duties, or whatever duty that I can get myself in the limelight, I feel I have to shine, definitely three times better than the next person.

A Lieutenant (J31) on working harder:

As a minority, my first assignment, I always had to work harder than the next person...

A Lieutenant Commander (J63), when asked whether his race has helped or hurt him, commented:

Race has hurt me. If I had been majority I would have been much further ahead. On the other hand, I have benefitted by my minority status, because its forced me to be better than anyone else in my job. I have never received an award for my hard work.

A Lieutenant (J74) on success and failure in the workplace

In order to make it, you must work twice as long and twice as hard. No matter how successful you have been , if you make one mistake, you are immediately labeled a failure. In today's military as a minority you must not fail or put yourself in a position where you can be compromised.

I. THEME VIII: INTERVIEWEES TEND TO BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN SLIGHTED IN TERMS OF RESPECT OR REWARDS

1. Theme

This theme goes beyond the small pat on the back indicated in Theme VII. It addresses recognition in the form of permanent awards and/or professional respect. This theme is also intended to narrow the scope whereby an officer should be duly rewarded for certain accomplishments or openly recognized as a professional for a specific undertaking.

2. Justification

The intended or unintended racist behavior directed toward Blacks (Theme VII), widens the gap between the actual and the ideal situation [Ref. 50]. Numerous cases were mentioned in the interviews, including a Lieutenant (TTT) who was constantly given increased responsibilities, in the form of billets, additional divisions, and tough tasks by the chain of command. He stated that he did not receive the commendation medal he had expected when leaving his previous command and felt cheated as a result.

Another way the gap is widened is through a lack of professional support. Lieutenant (HHH) was asked by a department head to crossdeck (or transfer) with him because of his experience aboard a certain class of ship and then the department head would not listen to him. He related the following concerning his "least rewarding experience":

... my last ship ... I had a boss that wouldn't back you up even if you were right. He would step on your back to make himself look good instead of backing up his men. I had no trust in the guy. He was a good guy, ... a nice guy , but when the rubber hit the road, he wouldn't back you up against another department, an Airedale, or whatever. He wouldn't back you up. I think that was the most frustrating thing. He would ask you stuff and he didn't do it, you know you gave him your best, honest advice and he would do something else and when he f____ [screwed] up he would come back later and say I guess you were right. It's no good now. That happened the whole time I was there.

A Lieutenant (VVV) surface warfare qualified, pointed out that the senior watch officer on his second ship wanted him on the quarterdeck, standing Officer of the Deck (OOD import):

I think it had something to do with being an outsider. I think it had something to do with getting secondary treatment, something that was because I was Black and it's just one of these things like, (i.e., work your way up from the bottom even though you have proven yourself by obtaining your surface warfare pin) ... every move and it was like, you know. They have a tendency to want to

start Blacks a couple of steps below where they start all the counterparts, the White counterparts because maybe they don't have confidence in our level of competence, I don't know. But I fought it ... Those guys, the crew would come across the quarterdeck, and say, why are you standing OOD, SWO qualified Lieutenants never stand OOD, besides you're an engineer.

A Lieutenant (J4) on the effort needed to get ahead:

Well, um, well, you know, in the Navy, I think that with the amount of energy that you have to expend as a minority compared to the others in the Navy, it's probably a little -- I guess the rewards aren't equal to the amount of energy that you put out, personally, for me.

A Chief Warrant Officer (J6) offered the following observation on recognition:

... say, like for example, when you're leaving one command and you're going to another command, and you get an end-of-tour award, and it's less than what you expected. It's like well damn, I burnt the midnight oil, burnt the wick at both ends and all this, that, and the other, and this is the best they could come up with. It doesn't even measure up to the task that's been performed. It doesn't even equal the performance. There's a serious disconnect between the two. It's like, say, for example, if you're burning the midnight oil, burning the wick at both ends, and making things happen, making people shine brighter than they've ever shined before in their career, and the best they can come up with is a low-level award which I consider to be Navy Achievement Medal, I mean that's for basically undetected crime as far as I'm concerned. I would look at Navy Com or Meritorious Service Medal for people that are burning that wick at both ends because they're keeping somebody out of trouble.

A Lieutenant (J10) had this say about a perceived racial incident:

I can't remember if this was just after I'd gotten there or right before I was getting ready to leave, but Diego Garcia is part of the British Indian Ocean territory, RBI, and it's run -- the Brits have, I'm not going to call it consult, they have their commander, or

whatever, and Prince Andrew was going to come to the Island and visit and there was this huge reception that was being held for him. And out of all the female officers on that island, I was the only one not invited to go to this reception. And I sat -- I sat and thought about it and some of the lines came over and talked to me about and said well, you -- they said you know, they said you really need to go talk to somebody about it. So I went and talked to the commander. And I said -- I said I feel I've been snubbed. And I said I'm not going to speculate on why, but I resent it because I was the only female officer on that island that had not been invited to this reception. And so he went and talked to some people. He said well, you know, that's bullshit. And so -- and after that, whenever the BI commander had a going-on I was always invited but for that one thing I was not and it was a big deal.

Lieutenant (J51) about an incident he perceived was racially motivated:

My first acdutra, I went through the acdutra and I was doing my out brief, and talking with the senior chaplain and saying well, I should get a fitness report before I leave here. And he says, 'well, we're having some administrative problems.' He says, 'it's going to be standard, straight A, early promotion,' you know, that's the pretty standard thing, everyone gets that, and he says, 'a sign' -- and my immaturity in the field, I signed a blank fitness report and it came back with a B on it. And I hit the ceiling. I just couldn't believe that. And it's forcefulness -- in forcefulness, those were all still in the students' status and none of those hurt me. From then on I learned though, that was a good lesson to protect your fitness reports.

A Lieutenant Commander (J63) on a proposed award:

I submitted my proposal for an award to my Commanding Officer. I was dressed out because of this, I was told I was having visions of grandeur.

A Lieutenant (J74) on his lack of awards:

This is my third assignment but I have not received one award. If you were to look at my evaluations, you would see that I'm well deserving, but there has always been some excuse. I personally

feel that the lack of an award is racially motivated. I've seen people who didn't have the job get an award for someone else's work. I think that the Navy should take a look at the awards or the lack thereof for minorities.

J. THEME IX: A VAST MAJORITY FEEL MOST REWARDED WHEN TRUSTED TO PERFORM AND WHEN HELPING SUBORDINATES

1. Theme

Although many Black officers feel that they have to work harder to obtain formal recognition, a large portion (85 of 100) say that the greatest intrinsic reward involves *trust*-- trust in their ability to lead and perform their duties on a par with, or even better than, the majority. Black officers also tended to find great satisfaction pride and accomplishment in helping their subordinates get ahead.

2. Justification

In view of the disappointment expressed in not receiving formal awards or recognition, it was reasonable to expect receipt of rewards to be a major factor in positive experiences. Indeed, a number of Black officers mentioned their own personal rewards as a significant source of satisfaction. However, an even greater number pointed to the intrinsic rewards of leadership and the sense of knowing that they were good at their job. This was evident when Lieutenant (QQQ), beaming with pride related the following experience:

I think also one of the most rewarding experiences, looking back now is serving time in the Persian Gulf. I'd just finished RAGS, and was a brand new nugget pilot, had flown with my squadron maybe once on maintenance ops and once on a routine training flight -- and oh by the way, bang, boom, I was in the Persian Gulf doing actual operations against an actual threat and the aircraft -- that reminds me, coming up and actually cutting some mines! I think that was one of the highlights of my career, because there were a lot of senior people in our community who had never cut a real mine ... We were out there one day and our Nav (navigation) system had gone down but we were still dragging the gear through water, they called the mine line ... I was flying, I

actually had my hands on the controls, the Lieutenant Commander was navigating and boom, cut four mines! To know that you could actually do it real time, this is the real stuff, I was so junior, that was rewarding. I was excited! I was really stoked!

A Commander (GGG) wanted the chance to show he could do the job:

During my department tour when I was able to talk to the Commanding Officer and felt I was being treated with respect. I had asked for operation or maintenance, ... and then when my XO became CO, he gave me the opportunity to show my stuff. He had enough confidence in me to allow me to be operations officer, and that was a good time for me. Then I got to be an OIC (officer in charge) on a Det (detachment), something I thought I would have gotten experience at before, but it was taken away from me. Because a judgment call was questioned. Well it was questioned by the wing commander and when the CO had to answer up for it, I went to the wing and answered about it. And, I stood by my decision, and it was a good one, but because he, the CO, was getting heat from the wing commander, he wouldn't allow me to go to the next Det as OIC. So, when he left I got to be the OIC on the following Det. Like a lot changed in those three months, I became a different person, I do believe so.

A Lieutenant (UUU) enjoyed the confidence others had in his ability:

Being regarded as best JO (junior officer) on the ship. In many cases, the Commanding Officer showing more confidence in myself than much senior officers. There I was, a junior lieutenant with three years in the Navy and they with seven, eight, or more years and I had more of his confidence. That, and earning the respect of my peers and subordinates alike.

A Lieutenant (111) said that his most rewarding experience was helping a subordinate get promoted:

... when Second Class Petty Officer _____ was capped from second class to a first class in my division. And why is that so rewarding for me, because _____ was brought up in a broken family. The man worked his heart out, but for some reason he couldn't pass the test. A cap is where the CO gets one or two

positions where he can -- I'm going to say this guy is squared away, move you from one pay grade to a higher pay grade. This is a guy who wanted to be in the Navy, good person, worked his tail off, and I'm telling you we did everything in our power to get him advanced. And finally we got him advanced. And that was rewarding to me.

Another Lieutenant (333) said her most rewarding experience was at a Presidential Inauguration:

Oh, I guess the most enjoyable time I had was when I was sent to work on the Presidential Inauguration I just got to be, really, military presence for the inauguration and I found that to be pretty exciting. And I don't think I would have had that opportunity if I wasn't in the military.

A Lieutenant Commander (LLL) related how he had the opportunity to lead on an important operation:

Well, Operation Praying Mantis, this was a pretty rewarding experience. Operation Praying Mantis, the weapons exchange between the US and Iran, 18 April 1989, the Reagan administration measured response to the mining of the Roberts and we were in a surface action force Bravo and our job was to destroy the SYSSOM oil platform and it was ... My time on the (ship's name) was a good experience and pretty rewarding for me. My CO kind of stepped back. That was great because I got to run the show. I did everything, the ship's schedule, where you were going, when we were going there. Any time anybody wanted to know about anything, they'd called me. So, it was a good feeling to know that the captain just let me run it, he had that much confidence.

A Lieutenant (777) found his reward in "taking the heat" for his people:

I've always considered the people that work for me. I made it a point and still do to this day because I believe it is necessary that they be treated as human beings. For instance, when officers come down or start chewing them out, belittling them or making demands on them that are unreasonable. From the CO on down. Stepping up and taking that heat off them and getting them to

only focus on who they are responsible to. They appreciate that. Certain things happen on aboard ship that cause a lot tension ... and the release of that tension is always directed at those below the current rank. Well, a lot of times is unjust.

Another Lieutenant (NNN) also felt rewarded in seeing his subordinates get promoted:

I'd say I've had quite a few rewarding experiences. I think seeing my people advance would be number one. All of them, but it always feels good to see African: Americans advance. It feels good to see a seamen make it to petty officer or somebody putting another Chevron on their arm or your first class making chief. I think that kind of shows that even though they are in supply they make rank just like everybody else in the Navy. [LT (NNN) expressed a tendency for the crew to look down on supply]

A Lieutenant (III) talked about expressions of gratitude from his shipmates:

I would have to say my most rewarding experience was when I left the ship. It wasn't about rewards or anything, usually the normal routine when an officer leaves the ship ... the wardroom comes down (and form two lines to lead the departing officer to the brow) there are side boys involved. As I was departing, not only did my division come up and line up, but several of the other divisions of the ship as well. The majority of the individuals that did come up were minorities and that was my most rewarding experience as a naval officer because ... for better or worse, I did what I could to help as many people on the ship as I could.

A Lieutenant (TTT) put it quite succinctly:

Having guys who have worked for me come back and acknowledge that as their division officer, I took care of them. Also, being the motivation of Black enlisted types. Black officers give them the ease to trust someone and see them (Black officers) and know of opportunities.

Lieutenant (J2) felt his most rewarding experience was when he reenlisted one of his personnel:

When I enlisted my -- I had my first enlistment, I actually enlisted somebody.

A Lieutenant (J3) was gratified having others view him as a model of accomplishment and source of help:

I think the most rewarding experience as a Naval officer is looking at the Seaman to Admiral Program whereas there were a lot of enlisted that I've heard, I wasn't on the boards, but a lot of enlisted try to pattern me because they know that I was prior enlisted. They know for a fact that it's possible that it's not like it's a chasm that hey, this person grew up uptown so, therefore, all officers are bred from uptown. This person grew up downtown, so, therefore, that's the enlisted corp of people. They know for a fact that there's a possibility for people to make the transition from enlisted to officer. And I think the biggest gratification I have is being able to offer that to them where they come to me and ask me for one, how did I go about doing it, what were your stepping stones, what did you do, what did you read, how do you go about doing it ... I think that probably is the most gratifying.

A Lieutenant (J9) found his rewards in helping others overcome their problems:

The job they gave me was challenging. I was the Public Affairs Officer and I was the Officer in Charge of the Navy Broadcasting Detachment, so I'm an Econ major doing broadcast journalism and print journalism, which was a challenge, but I think my collateral duty as the DAPA was the most rewarding of all the jobs that they gave me because I got to counsel people about their drug -- well, not drug problems, but alcohol problems and get them into counseling and see them progress and be successful or see them progress and end up failing. But those success stories, I think, were the ones that were most fulfilling, those for the alcoholics and those who were food addicted, those sorts of success stories to see the food-addicted person finally maintain and regulate their food level and start to lose weight and be able to stay in the Navy or to see the alcoholic realize that they can't deal with alcohol and

to get it out of their life and find alternatives to that alcohol, I think -- and to know that I was a catalyst in helping that occur, I think was the most rewarding part.

A Lieutenant (J10) found job satisfaction in her responsibilities:

My first tour was absolutely great because I walked in there and I was an ensign and I was the only female, the only Black person in my wardroom and they were all warrants and LDOs and I walked in to this LDO, CO I think, I want to say he was a captain, I'm not sure, he may have been just a Commander, but he said, 'Ensign, I don't know a damn thing about supply, and that's your job, so you're going to go do your job!' And I had secretary authority, I could release messages, I didn't realize how much I had, I have not had that level of authority and responsibility since, and I ran these three divisions and I was in charge. I mean whatever happened in supply was me, and he didn't second-guess me, when I made a mistake and it came back, it was on me. And I decided what was important in the department and I -- it was a great job.

A Lieutenant (J12) felt most rewarded when thanked for a job well done:

Um, probably -- well, probably having the Captain of my last ship who was not well liked tell me that I was the best officer of the deck that he's had in all his commands, the best that he's seen in his years in the Navy. That was probably the -- yea, that was probably the best thing that's happened to me.

An Ensign (J17) was generally pleased with his job and being an officer:

Um, it's difficult to say because I have a lot of outside involvements from which I derive a lot of gratification. And so I get -- being an officer and being at USUHS, because that's a medical school where you're paid, you have a commission, you're a commissioned officer, you don't have as much -- you don't have the same burdens or worries as other medical students so it allows -- it frees up a lot of your time and a lot of your energy. So I don't know, I don't know how to answer that question. All I can say is yes, this is a -- I'm an officer, I'm having a good time, and I'm happy to be here. But I can't say that it's because of my experience as an officer in the military in USUHS, but it's because

of the flexibility that this position and the resources have given me that I'm happy that I'm having such a wonderful time. But my experiences with my classmates or with other officers in the military have been very limited because I -- like I said, I have a lot of outside involvements and when I'm not on the job, I'm doing things in the community, in Washington, D.C., I started a scholarship program that's going into its third year for some of the kids out there. And I'm always working with them. Me and a couple of friends are starting a foundation -- international medical foundation, so we're busy with that. In fact, that's an outside involvement because it involves developing countries outside of you know ...

A Commander (J21) found intrinsic rewards in the responsibilities of command:

Whew. My most rewarding one. Well, there's been a lot of them. My most rewarding one probably was my last duty station where I was actually the Public Works Officer and in charge of my own department. And we were able to run it just like a business. And we were able to reward people for their efforts. And we really utilized TQM in the truest sense. And the people really felt good about what we accomplished in the austere funding climate. My first command -- my first tour was actually as a recruiter in Richmond, Virginia. I graduated from the Naval Academy in June of '77 and in July reported to NRD Richmond, Virginia. At that time I was under the command of a guy that had been a prisoner-of-war for eight years in Vietnam, so he had a very, very different outlook on life. He was really thankful to be alive, and he really appreciated people, so he was a more people's person. HPe gave me the latitude of developing the NROTC program the way I wanted so I was able to do a lot there. And that was really rewarding. I got to go to a lot of high schools, make presentations, go to junior colleges throughout the state of Virginia. And we made our goal and we were able to put some people in the Navy.

A Lieutenant (J26) felt rewarded in being selected for a desired program:

My most rewarding experience was being selected for a dermatology residency because it's a real competitive program here. And I was away as a general medical officer for four years

before I came back to train, so that was my most rewarding. I felt like I put in some productive years as a general medical officer and I was being rewarded for my time.

A Commander (J41) referred to completing a course of study:

My most rewarding experience was graduating from the War College ... watching the change of the Navy as I stood there with 13, 14 other Black officers who were then being -- receiving their Master's degree from the War College.

A Lieutenant (J51) spoke of his time and accomplishments in graduate school:

I'd have to say my first year at [Ivy League School]. To be selected, because they selected so few chaplains this trip. That was shocking. They wanted me to study pastoral counseling and I wanted ethics. And they were more than willing to change although that meant forcing someone else into a position they didn't want to be in, but it was as if I had some clout and some credibility finally and that was a very rewarding year. I uniformed for a year and the way I've been respected since then, I've just gotten back from there, and my thesis has been circulated and papers I've written and it's like I'm in a whole new league. And that has been very rewarding.

K. THEME X: RACE (AND RACISM) IS A CONSISTENT, UNDERLYING FACTOR IN ALL THEMES

1. Theme

This theme was addressed in several ways. Respondents were specifically asked to comment to the effect of race on career choices and to discuss whether race has helped or harmed them. Numerous statements were made and rarely did an individual strictly voice negative opinions on the issue of race. In fact, one of the common responses was "I have been treated fairly." There was an equal rarity in the consistency of positive views. Seemingly, the entire sample has a "bitter-sweet" relationship with the Navy. The sweetness

is normally expressed with regard to their immediate command level, the group with which they have immediate contact. The bitterness is, seemingly, reserved for the so-called establishment. Neither case is exclusive.

2. Sub-Theme

Beyond the simple issue or question of career choices as they relate to race were even more vivid problems. These problems were identified, not in response to a question of race, per se, but rather about various experiences while in the Navy. Beyond the mildness of this bitter-sweet relationship are some deeper perceptions that perhaps exceed subtleness.

3. Justification

Trait classifications produced not only behavioral assumptions but also collective value judgment. Some trait classifications denigrated and stigmatized entire groups, while others conferred respect. (That is, Blacks denigrated and stigmatized, while Whites conferred respect.) Unless those who are unfairly stereotyped hold power to punish those who promote and act on inaccurate and self-serving classifications, the objective fact of individual competence will almost never rescue an individual from the strong arm of an entrenched racial stereotype. [Ref. 51] Some of the bitterness of the "bitter-sweet" attitudes is captured in the following:

A Lieutenant, (QQQ) was ridiculed at his commissioning source by a majority drill instructor about the pronunciation of "Yes Sir." The drill instructor often repeated "Yessurr" in mocked fashion when addressing the midshipmen (QQQ). Another Lieutenant (TTT) spoke of a "Golden Boy Syndrome." A Golden Boy is an officer, in the sight of the Commanding Officer or command, who could do no wrong or was seemingly the CO or command-designated "perfect" officer. He added that he has never seen a Black "Golden Boy." He also added, that the general attitude is "first they see Black, then they see an officer, and then they see whatever comes next."

On stereotypes, a Lieutenant (VVV) stated the following about OCS:

First of all, they thought I was prior enlisted ... Then the next experience I had that really bothered me was my interview with my company officer. She said 'when you start having problems academically, come and see me before it's too late.' So she assumed I was going to have problems before I ever started. That puzzled me. All the courses ... it was almost like you're slow until you prove otherwise.

A Chief Warrant Officer (J6) said "you do not always know":

... That's a good question because a lot of times when you go to different commands, you don't know really how you're assigned. You don't know if you're assigned because of your expertise or because this is where they want you to be as far as it's classic to where a Black officer or a Black enlisted person gets by in the Navy, they've got this paradox that they've got to deal with, was I fired because I was Black or was I fired because I couldn't do the job. I mean if everything is going well and then all of a sudden you come in the next morning and they've been assigned somewhere else, that's a question that will probably never be answered because when you're sitting one on one with your supervisor, or whatever, and they won't look you eyeball to eyeball and tell you the truth about why you've been reassigned.

A Lieutenant (12), when asked if race helps or hurt gave this statement:

In this day and age I think it still hurts. I think it still hurts because it hasn't been that long since we were riding in the back of the bus or our grandparents and parents and there's still a lot of hatred out there. I think it's -- I think it's more silent nowadays, but I think it's still -- it hasn't gotten -- it could be better, it could be better for all minorities, not just Blacks, but for all minorities.

A Lieutenant (J13) felt that is was difficult to document:

Um, when I first came in as an officer, just looks that you can't -- you can -- it's difficult to document, but you can see people kind of looking at you up and down. Is that sexist, is that racial, is that them saying well, we know by law you have to be here, but we really don't like you, having closed conversations, no room at the table like in a wardroom, so to speak, or being at a wardroom but not being included in a conversation, so those are things that you

really can't report or write somebody up for, but just the atmosphere, the climate was "you're not one of us, we don't want you here" kind of thing.

An Ensign (J17), when asked if he was on equal playing ground with his majority counterparts, gave this reply:

No, I don't think so. I don't think so. I mean you can't be on equal playing ground, again, because of the differences, and they can be the color of my skin, they can be the fact that I grew up in New York City, and I have a different way of doing things, a different way of interacting with people. Whatever it is, most of the people, the majority, most of them are uncomfortable with that. They don't know how to respond to it in a lot of cases I've found. And so, they maintain -- they keep their distance from me. They are less likely to form in lines with me. They are less likely to take me under their wing. They are less likely to advocate for me or promote me, okay? I'm not saying that they won't, but they are less likely to. Whereas, my mainstream counterparts already have a lot in common with those people, with the majority, so it's easier for them to form in lines, easier for them to form friendships, relationships, whatever.

A Lieutenant (J31) felt like his command was surprised that he was a minority:

My first experience as a commissioned officer and my first assignment was prior to getting assigned there, I wrote a letter to the command and told them I was coming on board and that I'd be there. They told me to come by one day and they'll take me out to lunch. No one had seen me. No one knew who I was. The day I showed up I think they were rather surprised by who I was, and lunch, ... It was never mentioned. It was not talked about. The person who told me there we'd be going to lunch that day was very nonchalant to me when I got there. And that lunch never occurred.

A Lieutenant Junior Grade (J49) gave the following response to the question about fair treatment in career decisions:

No, I don't think I'm being treated fairly because when I got here there ... I heard she worked years in the civilian world and da, da, da, da, but we're going to put her over here. I went to my DFA three weeks after I got here, I said, 'sir, I'm not being disrespectful, I just want you to read my resume because where you've got me right now, sir, is -- it's just not up to the level of skills that I've been used to and I've done so far past that I think if you look at my resume, you will really use me in some really good areas. I can be very valuable to you.' He thought I was insulting him. I was like, 'no, sir, I'm not insulting you whatsoever. I just want to know maybe, now when you make the decision to place me again in the hospital, that next year this time you can put me where you think I'm really useful and where you really need me at.' You don't send an ensign to a department with five chiefs and one senior. What is she going to do? Come on. What's she going to do? They're training her, right?

A Lieutenant (J53) related this about one of his assignments:

Everybody on the ship hated this guy -- he didn't pay any attention to the racial climate at all. I saw a lot of stuff came my way from him between him and my department head because I had a change in department head and all that other stuff and XO, too, I mean between CO and XO and my department head, it was another Black officer came out of the Engineering Department and we had to go to our department head on three different occasions and say look, you're not paying attention to our needs and you're not helping us out, you're stabbing us in the back in front of the CO, XO, I mean the CO is saying stuff to us like hey, we're not doing a good job. But we're not doing any -- I mean we're doing a good job but we're not doing any work like this guy over here, but we're the ones getting all this -- all of us are getting chastised in front of other people, I mean that kind of thing, and people -- other sailors are coming up to us and officers and saying hey, why is the CO always picking on you or why are these department heads kicking you in the back or stabbing you in the back, you know, and then it was viewed by the crew, I mean the crew could see that there was a problem. So I attribute that to the CO and I attribute the treatment I got on board that ship from that guy, I mean I had to totally forget the treatment I got the first half of that cruise, I mean first half of my tour on the ship. My -- it was the biggest factor in my decision to get out of surface warfare. I mean if I had to go through anything like that again on a ship, I'd get out of the Navy.

A Lieutenant Commander (J56) had this to say about his Commanding Officer:

At my first command, my Commanding Officer came right out and told me that I would have problems because I was Black.

A Lieutenant (J71) gave this reply about his immediate supervisor:

... 06 selectee was gay and my boss was a Mormon and let everyone know that he believed in his religion. That wouldn't be bad except that Mormons believe all Blacks are cursed. My boss never supported me on anything and during an incident where he was involved, he lied to support another White officer. The truth came out because another officer heard the conversation that caused the incident and came forward. I had to go before the Commanding Officer for the incident before the individual stepped forward. The Commanding Officer didn't apologize nor was my boss or the officer that made the false statement punished. I was moved to work for this 06 selectee who I later found out was good friends with the officer who made the false statement. My new job was hell. I always felt that it was a setup and racially motivated. I had to fight to get a good fitrep.

Examples of the "sweet" side of the bitter-sweet relationship can be found in the following:

A Lieutenant (QQQ) said race hurt, helped, and, in some cases, had no effect:

I think it could be all three (help, harm or no effect). I think it could help, from the standpoint, of the ones who stand out and shine. If they are treated fairly, they would do extremely well. Because the people who know the real deal will say this guy has to deal with all this other crap, yet he still does well. And they will accelerate.

Another Lieutenant (TTT) was positive about his treatment, but not without a qualifier, when he commented:

So far treated fairly. I knew I wouldn't be top dog because of face-time or lack thereof. It's a Black-White thing, and then again it's not. Maybe a product of being in the Engineering Department.

A Lieutenant (VVV) felt he had been treated fairly overall:

Yes, overall I've been treated fairly. This was even after a long story about having to stand watches as Officer of the Deck (OOD inport) on the quarterdeck as a surface warfare qualified Lieutenant. The incidence culminated in a series of one-on-one discussions with the entire chain of command; section leader, Senior Watch Officer, Executive Officer, and the Commanding Officer. [See Theme VIII]

A Lieutenant (J1) could not think of an instance where he had been treated unfairly:

I think I've been treated fairly and I cannot think of a single instance where I was not treated fairly because of my minority status. I can certainly think of a lot of cases where I thought the-- a senior officer, whether it be a department head, XO, or CO, didn't like me or for some reason didn't like the way I did things or said things, but there was no indication that that was because of my nationality. It could have been, but the reason why I say there was not any great indication it was my nationality is because he treated other people -- in most cases, he treated other people like that, too, and they weren't Filipino. So you know I usually if it's a real obvious comment on my nationality, then I will -- I normally assume that it's not, unless I can really see that it is, and then I will make an issue of it.

A Lieutenant Junior Grade (J49) had the following comment about race:

... I think I've benefitted. And I really do. I think I've benefitted because I don't look at my skin color as a factor like a lot of people may think or may look at it themselves. I guess I'm so proud of who I am that I ... make me feel like I can't do anything because I have challenged myself, because when I challenge things, I don't challenge so much of other people, I challenge my own self. What I set my goals to and how I'm going to reach those

goals, and I start challenging myself. That's so rewarding to me because I don't have to answer to nobody but me.

A Lieutenant (J51) gave this reply about his immediate supervisor and race:

One of my worst experiences was when I was TAD'd to work for the man that gave me the medal, and he wanted a Black chaplain to take the Black service, that's what he wanted. But he wouldn't say that. And so here I was a very junior Lieutenant placed in a position over a Lieutenant Commander, which set me up for a battle, for a fall usually, but lo and behold, it wasn't a fall, it ended up being a battle, some struggles, and we were able to work through it. This man accused me of lying, accused me of many, many things, and later it was discovered that I had not told these lies, it was just a -- it was just a hideous experience, but he also did the same to the Whites, I can't say the whole thing was racial.

The following comments go beyond subtleness, relating clear incidents of differential treatment based on race:

A Lieutenant Commander (CCC) spoke of her conversation with the commanding officer:

Well, there was a security problem at _____, and they turned my orders off to _____, and I had to go to _____, which was remote and everything. I didn't know anything about _____. I get up there with another White female in my class who was in OCS with me ... My CO, a Commander, he was an O-5, put me in the office and talked to me about birth control, promiscuity, the fact that I was female and what the P-3ers would try to do and all that as if I were an E-1, or E-2 17, 18 years old. When I checked with my White counterpart, she did not get the same lecture. So I thought it was a stereotype kind of thing which was disheartening but I moved on.

Lieutenant (III) took over the job of Damage Control Assistant (DCA) where he was in charge of the HTs (Hull Technicians) and the Damage Controlmen. The majority of personnel in his division were minorities. During the interview, he related that he worked for a bigot, the Chief Engineer. There were several instances to support his claim, but the strongest was one as he

stood Officer of the Deck (OOD) underway. It is improper for anyone to enter the bridge and distract the OOD in any way regardless of the circumstance, but what reportedly occurred was reprehensible:

... there was a problem with the waste (CHT) system. I had instructed ... to correct. However, another problem then ensued. The Chief Engineer comes up to the bridge ... His conduct as an officer was totally inappropriate. He starts yelling and screaming, and makes mention that those 'lazy good for nothing' and then he formed the word Black, and then you could see that he hesitated and he got even more upset as I told him, 'I have the deck right now. I'm the Officer of the Deck, I would appreciate it if you would get off my bridge because your conduct is inappropriate and we'll discuss this at a later time.' He then went on, in front of the watch crew and mentioned the word 'nigger.' So obviously it was pretty apparent to me at that time that something was wrong there. Needless to say at that point and time I call the Captain to the bridge and we took care of that situation in close quarters.

A Lieutenant Commander (LLL) gave this reply when asked about his worst experience:

My worst experience. I was sitting at the wardroom table, we were having breakfast, and the Chief Engineer was there and the captain, the XO, and a couple other officers. And we were talking about the well, one of the officers was a friend of mine ... bought himself a 32-foot sailboat ... talking back and forth ... and the engineer just up and decided to say, 'Jim, well, I guess the only thing left that you really need is a boat nigger.' And just silence fell over the room. ...maybe I didn't want to believe that I heard that from -- Geez! What the hell do I do now. So, I don't know, as I sat there, I got more and more irritated by it and you know irritated by, by the statement and probably more irritated by the fact that the Captain and the XO didn't jump up and say something. So, I left ... to kind of assess what just happened ... Jim came over to talk ... I got a phone call from the XO ... then the Captain called me. ... While I didn't see what was done to the engineer, I understand that his fitness report was affected, so much so, that he was passed over for Lieutenant Commander and a couple of years later got out of the Navy. So that was my worst, my worst experience.

A Lieutenant Commander (AAA) related an experience he had onboard ship where he was selected by the CO for increased responsibility over a slightly senior officer. The operations officer had commenced pre-training the person the Ops Boss felt should get the job. At any rate, when Lieutenant Commander (AAA), an Ensign at the time, took the job, he discovered a shortcoming in the record-keeping system and in the physical inventory (ammunition inventory):

I felt the Ops Boss made me a scapegoat. And I honestly think that it was a racial issue because I had the opportunity to observe how he treated some of the people in the command when I was legal office ... And I think that's probably suitable foundation for my opinion on the man for the way I was treated for the ammo inventory. The man suggested to the skipper that I be given an LOI. I did get the LOI and I think it was probably the hardest day of my military career to this date. I was reduced to tears, ... If I didn't have him (my sea dad) to lean on, I think I probably would have gotten out of the military ... A lot of people take over departmental/divisional responsibilities with improperly documented conditions that they know to exist, but I had done everything by the book. My letter was written and signed by both me and the officer that I relieved, and one of the shortcomings was the screwed up inventory.

A Lieutenant (QQQ) gave this reply about your picture being in the service record:

I think in some respect it (picture in service record) may hurt Black officers in particularly. I wouldn't doubt it at all if some Black officers were not promoted because they found out the officer was Black. I would not -- it would not surprise me in the least. I think they should take the picture out.

Lieutenant (PPP), a member of the Chaplain corps, who is sometimes privy to highly sensitive information, had this to say about race and race relations in the Navy:

The leadership wants to sell us on 'well, it's not as bad as it used to be' ... I considered it racist when a majority officer made comments about Black History and Asian-American History months, expressing the view that there should be a White History month ... Another incident that comes to mind, where a White male officer asked a Black female officer to introduce him to some of her whorish friends, thereby implying that she was a whore. When the female reported the incident via the chain of command it was basically ignored. She was told she was too sensitive and that he (the White officer) didn't mean anything by it. And that was the end of that.

A Lieutenant (TTT), while talking about Surface Warfare Officers, had this to say:

Well, I've gathered from talking to other 1100s (Surface Warfare Officers) that they send most of the Black officers to engineering billets on very old ships because most of the MMs and BTs (Machinist Mates and Boiler Technicians) are Black.

A Lieutenant (UUU), when talking about punishments given to White-vs-Blacks, gave this reply:

... witnessed young Black enlisted being characterized as a criminal for an offense and a young White enlisted being characterized as young and immature or just sowing his oats. (After the interview, off tape, discussed an instance where a White enlisted E-3 was given 7 days restriction and fined \$50.00 for falsifying his identification card for the purpose of entering a night club and a Black enlisted E-3 was recommended for court martial for a completely similar incident.)

A Lieutenant (J3) spoke of the "double standards" within his command:

When I got to my first squadron, or, I shouldn't say, just _____ training command ... I started AOCS with -- and I don't want to throw a minority issue in there, but I understand that that's probably the gist of what you're ... I started AOCS with maybe 60 or 70 Black guys, okay, and which the thing was if you noticed my commission, we were to graduate just before the new fiscal year so which meant that we had -- the recruiters had to get

these individuals in before that fiscal year ended so that they can at least say, 'hey we got these individuals in, this is what our records show.' It doesn't show a breakdown, it just shows a total for the year ending, this is how many we had, it doesn't matter if you recruit them all in the last day. And the thing that really pissed me off or really -- that really chaps me was the fact that they were in there, okay, their numbers counted, but that doesn't necessarily mean that these people were given a fair shake as far as completion, okay, they completed the program, they may have gone on to become an Ensign, but then I've seen a lot when you double standards when you went to flight school like hey, well I did this and I got an above; well, I did this and I got a below; hey, well I did the same damn thing and I got it down. That or the-- there was a time when I came through when NFOs were offered the chance to become a pilot, all you had to have was 20/20, okay, and that was totally subjective. You go talk to one person. I went and talked to him myself as an NFO. With 20/20 vision, he told me 'well, it's my way or the highway, you like it or you don't.' I figured well hell, I got the job, let me just go for what I know. Maybe I can make the best of what it is. That -- also the fact that I was in the rag -- I mean I had seen someone receive his designator, receive his wings, to be a pilot, granted I know it happens. When you look at the circumstances of what happened, if you look at the money or the value of the person that he put in this individual, I mean why just throw it away? And I don't want to say that just because of the fact he's a minority, I'm saying I know that because I know him and I know him because he was a minority. I'm not saying it happened because he was a minority. But then again it could because I don't want to -- I don't want to circumvent something and I don't want to second guess what their reasoning were for doing that. Okay. That's one -- I think that has a lot to do with training command. I mean but then again training command I guess is supposed to be structured as such. As far as in the squadron, I have no really no heartaches except for the way that we go about letting people go, or the way we make our decisions. It's like we don't -- we don't respond, we're reacting. I mean we're -- if we're in the business where we can forecast lots of things, we should be able to forecast that, too. The list can go on and on, but like I say, since this is impromptu and I really don't have -- I'm more or less like a easygoing guy, I can't really just -- if I'd sit down and thought about it, I'd probably think of a lot more, but I think that one really, really hits home when it comes to me. One of the biggest things that I think would -- when I -- I remember the first thing the yeoman said to me when I checked on board my squadron, 'we got one.' And that stuck with

me. It's like we got one what? And I didn't know what she was talking about. I hadn't seen the structure of the wardroom. I didn't know any of the officers that was in the squadron. We got one. You know what 'we got one' was? We got a Black officer. I was like one of the first to come through there in so damn long, you know they -- hey ...it wasn't the fact that hey, I'm going to come there and I'm going to change the world, it wasn't the fact that I'm going to come there and be their savior or their salvation, it was just the fact that there was someone -- it's almost like -- like a guy asked me here at NPS -- how come I know all the Black people in school, and it's not like there's a caucus, it's not like there's a cartel, there's nothing going on -- it's just that you go to different concerts. I will not go to a country and western concert. By the same token, they will not go to a rap concert. By fact that the way the Navy is made up is by fact, the way the world's made up, diversity, people are different, and that's one thing that we should appreciate. And that's one thing that the Navy should appreciate, the fact that hey, you've got different groups of people, as long as they are all getting along, they've got something in common, working for a common cause, that makes it better.

A Lieutenant (J5) spoke of the ups and downs of being a minority in the military:

I think that there was a time -- there was a time perhaps when I first came in the military, late 70s, when being a minority member probably was a little bit of an asset because I think things have been so bad to a certain degree in this country that there was a certain movement to perhaps try to even the playing field and bring minority people, give minority people somewhat of a helping hand to get them to the place where they could compete. Okay? But I'm saddened because of I think in the last year or two I think there has almost been a flip side to that. I think with the current quote unquote so-called conservative movement in this country, I think there's -- it's almost a disadvantage being a minority because I believe that there's a certain feeling now that well, we've done enough for minorities, and so let's get one, let's get one -- let's get one minority to dress the window so to speak, but to heck with all the rest of them. We've got our one minority so we're fair. But to heck with the rest of them even though the rest of them might be equally qualified and sometimes more qualified.

A Lieutenant (J10) had this to say about the effects of race on one's career:

Hurts because no matter how many degrees or what your credentials are, whenever you walk through that door and someone first sees you, you have to get over that first impression, that first impression is you're Black and somehow you are less than average. You don't ever have the assumption of even being average, or let alone above average. You will always be looked at at first glance as being less than average until you -- and then you have to be so careful about what you say and how you do it and this and that and the other. I don't know if you've noticed like here at the Naval Postgraduate School, the Black students here -- we are -- we present ourselves better than the others as a whole, I think. We make a point of being sharp and not having anything out of place because we have to, and I think that's just something that we've just gotten used to. You won't see us in a raggedy uniform, for instance. Can't do it. We don't have that luxury.

A Commander (J21) spoke of an instance where he had to file a grievance procedure against his supervisor:

Well, I -- in my least rewarding experience which was I stated before in San Francisco Bay in the office of construction, I did have a situation where I had to file a grievance against my supervisor, my Officer in Charge. What happened was I was having a conflict with the deputy in charge on a day-to-day basis. So on my fitness report my commanding officer stated the fact that I wasn't performing at the level I could have and that I was doing less than superior work. And he had never confronted me personally about that, but had taken the word of the deputy, so I had to file an Article 138 against the officer in charge stating that he had never apprised me of that, that this action would certainly curtail my naval career, and it took about four months for us to go back and forth on that through both the civil engineering corps and through advocates of the -- through the NNOA to turn that around. And as a result, that fitness report got pulled -- well, it was never submitted to _____ but I never signed it and it got pulled and reversed and actually a very good fitness report came out of that. And on this current job I'm having some problems with my civilian supervisor in that it seems like he's singling me out for harassment in the office, whereas no one else is called into

question about how much they go p.t., physical training, and no one else is called into question about their travel schedule, no one else is called into question about what they do on a day-to-day basis, their judgments, that sort of thing. Out of--let's see, we have three other officers in the office. I'm the only minority. Well, there is an Hispanic and an Asian/Pacific American in the office, but I'm the only Black officer in the office. Out of four of us I'm treated differently, yes.

A Lieutenant (J31) spoke of the negative experience that went with an offer to become a Department Head:

I feel that I always have to produce. I can give an example. In an assignment I had I was called to an office by an officer and I was presented an option to become a Department Head. And I was told this is a chance for you to prove yourself. As a Lieutenant I shouldn't be proving myself, as a Lieutenant I should have been told this is a chance for you to assume greater responsibility. Okay. And we always hear you have got to prove yourself and I think it's a perception over there that we have to -- regardless of what our education level is -- because they are a minority, there's certain expectations, high expectations that are put in, some good and some not.

A Lieutenant (J43) when asked if race helps or hurts the career of Black officers, gave this reply:

I think it hinders it. And sometimes it's unconscious or unintentional. But when an individual looks at two persons to be myself and another White junior officer, and they may have good interaction and rapport with both of us, but when that individual is the Commanding Officer or the Executive Officer, that person's just like me could be my -- just like my son and that's the un -- unintentional bias that they bring to the table. So, things that individual may do they excuse because that's the same excuse -- they excuse that with their own children or with their own relatives and with their own friends and if that's who their -- their -- circle, their life circle is, their life circle looks like them, then they're going to be more tolerant of mistakes by individuals who look like them, whereas myself, who does not necessarily look like them, when I make that same mistake or similar mistake, then it

becomes more apparent, and maybe even less tolerant, so that's my -- that's my perception of life in the Navy.

A Lieutenant Commander (J63) spoke about a bad experience aboard ship:

In 1988 I made Asst. Maintenance Officer. I bunked with this guy who was a nasty hygiene type person, I told him to clean up or move out. He told me he would get even with me. He later became Maintenance Officer, and my boss. When he became my boss he would not support me as his assistant in the training of personnel needed to perform for the ORE. The squadron failed the ORE. They tried to make me the scape goat. I submitted an article 138 and it went before the Admiral. The legal officer, who was being kicked out for being passed over, said he did an investigation, but never did. He submitted a favorable package for the Commanding Officer. I was given a choice to drop the issue or receive no support. I dropped the issue. The Executive Officer held the package until he was Commanding Officer and then forwarded it to my new command. This was wrong according to Navy instructions. It did not work because I had already gained my new Commanding Officer's respect and done great things so he just disregarded it after letting me know what they had tried.

L. THEME XI: MOST OFFICERS PLAN TO RETIRE WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS

1. Theme

As the theme suggests, most of the interviewees plan to retire. Various reasons were given in support of these plans, the strongest was the financial benefits until death.

2. Justification

Seventy-one of the 100 officers interviewed plan to remain in the Navy for a 20-year career or longer. Fifteen officers were not sure, twelve had no intentions of retiring, and two provided no reply. Reasons for definite planned retirement were normally quite succinct and focused on the financial benefits until death, time served, and time obligated. However, almost to a person, the

interviewees who expressed plans to retire stay in the Navy talked about how much they enjoyed what they are doing. Several individuals with 15 years or more who planned to retire felt it was time to move on. Others spoke of getting out only if they stopped having fun. Most related the fun to travel, the enormous amount of responsibility they have, the normal billet rotation or change in job (which prevents boredom), and the sheer fact that they are out front as a role model for younger Blacks.

The unsure responses and the negative responses about retirement are also useful because of their relation to other themes. For this reason, the following short excerpts are provided:

A Lieutenant (111) had earlier stated: "*My weight has been a problem as a naval officer.*" Thus, he was seemingly uncertain about retirement. However, he did express his desire to retire and the reason why he would like to retire:

I would like to do twenty. But if I don't do twenty, then I'm going to leave the Navy with my head held high. Because you always get the security of a paycheck. I could be really bad on my luck, ... hurt medically ... unable to work or whatever. There's going to be an income coming in. Security, that's what it's all about.

A Lieutenant (222) also voiced some uncertainties about retirement for different reasons:

I don't know. Let me put it this way. I'd like to think that I will retire from the Navy at twenty. But in this environment, downsizing, SERT (Selected Early Retirement and Transfer) boards, right sizing and failure to select for promotion it's really hard to say. I think there are so many factors that weigh in on what happens with your career besides you just making a conscious effort to say okay, I'm a careerist. I'm going to be here for twenty. Deep down I say sure, I'd like to make twenty. My focus is in that direction and I try to take my job serious ... punch the right tickets ... but from the standpoint of I don't have total control over that, I don't know. We'll see ...

An Ensign (555), quite understandably, so early in her career, had this to say about her prospects for staying in the Navy:

I don't have a clue. It just depends -- I'll stay in longer than my initial four-year contract. Now at what point I get out, I don't know ... It just depends on where I am in my career, what I want to do and the experience opportunities that may come up. I'm still young. I can't say.

A Lieutenant Commander (CCC) was asked first, "Do you plan to retire?" She was then asked, "What one factor or combination of factors would make you inclined to retire?" Her responses were as follows:

I don't know yet. [If I will stay in the Navy until retirement]. I'm not sure. I'm learning that with right sizing or reorganization, the downsizing in the military, maybe there's some other options I need to be looking at. I think if I felt a sense of renewal. [I would stay]. I need to be re-energized as far as minorities in the military. If I thought this study or any study would help minorities get equal or better fitness reports, promotions, duty stations, billets and things like that, something that would let me know that within the system ... that we were progressing and moving toward a more diverse organization and that the leadership was making the effort to ensure that we were moving towards them and there was proof that we are.

A Lieutenant (RRR) who is a recent lateral transfer from the Surface community (1110) to the Engineering Duty Officer community (1460) had a "wait and see" approach:

I don't know. I'm going to see how it goes. That's why I left the surface warfare community because there were too many unsafe people out there just caring about their career paths. Now that I'm a 1460, hopefully it will be different, it will be a community of professionals, and maybe I'll stay in a bit longer ... If I'm with true professionals ... I'll retire.

A Lieutenant (OOO), when asked if he plan to retire, gave this reply:

No. (You have no intentions of retiring from the Navy?) No, I'll probably be out within the next two years. (What could happen to make you stay?) Nothing.

A Lieutenant (PPP), and a member of the Chaplain Corps, had this to say:

No, I plan to get out following my next tour, while I'm still young enough to be active in my community (civilian community).

A Lieutenant Junior Grade (SSS) had doubts and attributed these doubts to the 1700 community changing so much:

I doubt it. With downsizing, so many SWOs are laterally transferring into the community that I can't be competitive with the record and experience they bring with them.

A Lieutenant (J3), when asked about retirement, gave this reply:

To be honest with you, no. Well, I can't say no, I'm taking as it was told me when the fun runs out, it's time to run out, too. So I'm taking one tour at a time. Once it gets to the point where I don't like it anymore, I've had enough, I really only evaluate the next tour by the previous tour.

Another Lieutenant (J5) spoke of the current military posture, and gave this reply:

Well, I guess the current posture that the military is in now, I'm hoping that I will get the opportunity to stay and have a full career in the military. That's certainly my plans, but of course, the current posture we're in now with it being as competitive as it is and with the downsizing or quote unquote right-sizing, that's not, certainly not a given.

A Chief Warrant Officer (J6), with more than 20 years in, spoke of knowing when to leave:

Not to use somebody else's phrase, but what I found to be really inspirational was what was said one time on the news by a past Joint Chiefs of Staff, or the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral _____, he basically said on his retirement, "Hey, you've got to know when to hold them and when to fold them." And that's a very true statement because I feel like people that hang around too long, they turn into a shell inside. I mean there's nothing left to function in an afterlife and I see a lot of them every day, I mean there's guys that's been in the military for 34, 35 years, there's nothing left in here to take out the main gate. There's just an empty shell. They cannot make a contribution, a sizable contribution, to society because they stuck around too long. I mean it's like, say, for example, you have a Commander who's got 34 or 35 years in the Navy, I mean yeah, he's seen a lot of COs come and go, seen a lot of XOs come and go, and has got a lot of mileage behind him. And he's been in that middle management position where his counterparts are Admirals and not dealing -- how would I say it -- person to person every day with people like he is, because it's just like a parent raising children, you get to a certain age where your tolerance for raising children are not there -- it's not there anymore, and that's usually right around your middle forties, early fifties, it's like most people at that time are looking at retirement, they're not looking at starting a life all over again with kids because their tolerance for raising kids is just not there anymore, and that's the same thing -- that's the way the military is structured with its officers. As you start getting older and older in the military, you start moving further and further away from having the day-to-day contact with a lot of people. You just have a small staff and that's it. But when you've got a Commander that's got 35 years in the Navy, and I worked for one, he doesn't have -- he doesn't have the -- the stamina to keep up with it, it's too much. I mean I could see it in his face every day. For me, it's no problem because I've still got the stamina to deal with people on a day-to-day basis, even having 25-years in the Navy, but with him, it's all he can do to keep up.

A Lieutenant (J8) felt good about his chances of retirement:

I do plan to retire just because I like what I'm doing right now and I think I could do it for 20 years. And then the -- along with the benefits that come along with it at the end of the 20-year mark. I'd like to be 42 and have a retirement and do something else.

A Lieutenant (J10) spoke of obligatory time because of a past assignment:

Well, I think I sat down and I figured out that by coming here the Navy owns me until the year 2000 and by then I'll have 13 years, so I'll probably go ahead and stick out the next seven. What makes it hard though is I'm married and it's the separation and so forth. We've been able to work it out so far. And the detailers have found a job for me in _____ to be with _____, and from there, hopefully, we want to go to San Diego where I'll go back to sea and he'll go and do a squadron tour or whatever. Yeah, I would like to stay. But then in the back of my mind I -- this thing -- I wonder what I can do on the outside because it seems to me that the benefits of staying for 20 aren't as big as they were like for instance when my dad was in the military as far as the medical benefits and so forth. If they offered a 15-year retirement, I would get out in 15 years.

Lieutenant (J43) when asked was he planning to retire, gave this example as one of the reasons why he is leaving the Navy:

Well, as an individual who had been very successful in terms of representing clients, I felt that I was -- and who was the most senior person at the time of the junior lieutenants, I felt I should have been offered an opportunity to become a staff judge advocate and take this position. I happened to be on leave when an inquiry was made about filling the position and the response that I received upon returning and finding out that a junior person to me was selected, or at least recommended for the position, was that 'oh, you weren't around and I just didn't think about you' was my explanation. And so that left a real sour taste in my mouth ...

A Lieutenant Junior Grade (J49), when asked if she would retire, gave this reply:

No, unfortunately, I won't. Unfortunately, my active duty time will be up this February of 96. It will be three years and I've already put in my release papers to release me from active duty . . . I do miss civilian life. I have a five-year reserve commitment ...

M. THEME XII: DOWNSIZING CONCERNS TEND TO FOCUS ON BOTH THE ORGANIZATION AND PERSONAL ELEMENTS

1. Theme

Downsizing was addressed from both a personal and an organizational perspective. There was almost always a concern for the organization, in particular, the relationships between downsizing, recruitment, retirement, retention and the "12-12-5" plan. Surprisingly, there were fewer personal or individual concerns. If there is concern about the downsizing within the Navy, imagine the confusion outside the Navy.

2. Justification

Several of the officers with 20 or more years express grave concern for future potential retirees. As witnessed in Theme XI, downsizing is affecting the career decisions of individuals interviewed, and, likely, individuals throughout the Navy. The drawdown creates an air of uncertainty, which often prompts officers to explore options, in the civilian sector. It also is counter-productive with regard to recruiting and efforts to the "12-12-5" goal. Even so, there were officers who were not as concerned about force downsizing. This was usually based on perceived personal value to the organization and less on specific knowledge of downsizing and what it entails. The comments below are divided between personal and organizational concerns:

A Commander (GGG), when asked about downsizing, gave this reply regarding personal concerns:

Downsizing, there were 24 squadrons when I came in the Navy. For a long time while I was in the Navy, there were 24 squadrons. I was basing a lot of my command opportunities on 24 squadrons. Well, now we're down to 13 squadrons. So, basically, the opportunities have been cut in half. So that would have an effect.

A Lieutenant (HHH) does not view downsizing as a problem:

I feel that I'm on the fast track to O-5. That's what the detailer, everybody say that. They say I just have to breathe and I should be able to make O-5 because I've done all the right jobs that I needed to get to O-5. That's what the detailer said about the O-4 board, he said no question period, you're in there. If you got a good record ... don't worry.

A Lieutenant (TTT) felt that if forced out it would be the Navy's loss:

I know that the Navy will be doing themselves a disservice to get rid of me. At any rate, my year group is not targeted.

A Lieutenant (QQQ) cited a time of anxiety with the process of downsizing:

Up until recently it was a major concern, I was USNR. The current cutting system was an unstable factor and it left a little bit of a bitter taste in my mouth. Because an officer goes through OCS, performs well, and still he's put on the bubble ...

A Lieutenant (111), addressing organizational concerns, felt that downsizing was economic in nature:

Downsizing to me is an economic thing. I don't think it's a racial thing. ... But I think that if I continue, or if anyone continues to get top marks, to get top of the line fitness reports, that the downsizing is not going to include them ... There are a lot of people -- fear downsizing as they going to kick me out, or they are trying to get rid of Blacks, or whatever. If they are downsizing the correct way ... basing it on performance ... downsizing is a good objective ... In this particular situation you are going to wind up terminating more non-Academy grads than Academy grads when you downsize ... So when you downsize you are going to remove some of those people that went to Black schools ... you're going to remove more of those people.

A Lieutenant (333) felt that downsizing was hurting recruiting:

I think that downsizing is hurting the recruiting efforts and that the people that we have are not sure about their jobs. There's a

lot of job insecurity. And again, it seemed like when the downsizing started occurring, that's when you saw the influx -- that's when I started seeing the influx of officers into recruiting jobs when they were on their way out. And that's definitely the wrong job for you to have when you are on your way out. And there's so many officers who are doing that. So I think that there's -- I think that we'll find a direct correlation between downsizing occurring and the lackadaisical attitude towards recruiting. I worked for recruiting command in ... D.C. ... and I've also worked -- assisted a recruiting command here in the Bay area, and I've seen it in both commands. So, I would suspect that it is a problem, an area of concern for recruiting commands -- that they really need to address if they want to get more Black people in. I'm just going to go from my experience, as a recruiter a lot of motivation has to be shown. If you have people who are on their way out, they just don't have it. So, I think that's what's happening. I don't think that the initiative for recruiting Blacks will come into -- really come into something that the Navy can see until the downsizing ends and you start getting motivated recruiters out there. And that's just, kind of, my opinion.

A Lieutenant Commander (CCC) referred to retirement and its relationship with downsizing:

I'm learning that with the right-sizing or reorganization, the downsizing in the military, maybe there's some other options I need to be looking at.

A Captain (EEE) spoke to the fairness of downsizing:

... Without looking at actual number crunching, I would have to say ... I have not seen any more minority officers pushed out than White officers, because I've seen it on both sides. I've seen guys equally qualified on both sides when it comes to SERT boards, almost equal.

A Lieutenant (FFF) was concerned with the uncertainty surrounding downsizing:

I think it creates a lot of uncertainty now. It used to be that if you knew you did well, if you made O-4, Lieutenant Commander, you could stay in until retirement as long as you didn't do

anything wrong, so you had a sense of job security. But now each year they come up with new stipulations on who can stay in and who can get out. You may think you're doing really well, and then the axe comes down. So downsizing just creates an air of uncertainty that may make me look into getting out a little earlier than I may have thought about before. It's looking for getting out while the getting's good, you could say. I think you may find that a lot of minority officers in the O-3 and up ranks now have a proven track record that a lot of companies may go after. Before you knew you could stay in for 20 years to a full career, now you're not so sure. Now, you're very marketable at this stage, the incentive to get out is a lot greater than it was in the past. That's while earlier I said I planned on making 20 years. If the right offer comes along, I would consider it, whereas before I really hadn't even thought about it.

A Commander (J1) spoke about making plans to retire around 20 years service:

It's changed it quite a bit. I really have to make a decision I think at around the 18, 19, well, right now about 20 year mark whether I want to stay in the Navy and keep going, or get out at 20. The reason why I say that is because if you decide to stay in, you need to take -- you need to go to those duty stations that will make you competitive, that means not staying in the same place and being comfortable all the time. Or else, even if you had 20, they could kick you out. Before somebody could say 'well, as soon as I hit 20, I can just stay in as long as I want, I'll just stay here like San Diego or wherever I want to stay in for the rest of my time and I can stay in until I feel like getting out. And now if I do something like that, I could find out at 20 they were going to kick me out. And so the downsizing has forced us to think that I can't just reach 20 and just hang around the Navy for as long as I want to, I mean at 20 I have to either continue moving up or they're going to kick me out. So I have to keep that in mind.

A Lieutenant (J3) said that he was taking it one tour at a time:

Nothing. It's all based on the way I feel. I mean -- then again, with the changes in the Navy, who's to say that 20 years is going to be an option to me anyway. So, it's more or less like I'm not even banking on 20 years. I'm banking on my next command, my

next tour, from this one I go to the next one. Now when I go -- granted, when I go to each one, I plan on doing a good job and if there's room for me, there's room for me, if there isn't, there isn't. But the one thing I can always say that I've enjoyed it, and if you enjoy what you're doing, you're going to give it your best, so, that's what I can say. It hasn't in a way that I've seen a lot of good people get forced out just by virtue that they have an "R" attached to their designator or attached to USN, vice USNR. That doesn't mean that that's the quality of person that that individual is, whereas, I've seen a lot of guys in my squadron that come from the Naval Academy and excuse the expression, they were shitbirds and assholes towards other officers, towards other enlisted, towards a lot of procedures, a lot of tactics, a lot of things that we have to take for granted, a lot of things that we have to absorb, and say hey, that's the way it is. They were literally assholes, and these guys had a USN designator.

A Lieutenant (J5) spoke of the changing environment because of downsizing:

Well, I think that the thing that was probably the most distasteful for me personally is that with the downsizing of the military, I think it's caused a lot of morale to dip, certainly in some cases, my morale to dip because what I see is I see some people who are hard chargers, who work hard, play by the rules, come to work early, work late, specifically, I'm thinking in my case and a lot of other cases I've seen, and the people can't get promoted, they can't get augmented into regular Navy, can't have a career so to speak. And I think if there was ever one misrepresentation made perhaps to people, that was the big one. That was the big misrepresentation because I mean certainly nothing was ever promised to anyone, but I had always been told that if you perform well and you go for the challenging assignment and if you do well, then you were pretty much if not guaranteed, but you would certainly be in a super good position to get those things that I talked about previously, like augmentation, promotion, a good assignment, etcetera, etcetera.

Lieutenant (J12), when asked about the effects of downsizing, gave this reply:

Downsizing? I mean I just think it's going to be those of us that are going up, that are getting ready to do our department head tours and trying to make Lieutenant Commander, I think there is going to be a big -- we're going to be set back a few years, we're not going to be able to become XOs and Lieutenant Commanders and Commanders probably when we should be ... there's still a lot of officers hanging around that aren't taking the opportunity to get out. That's what my experience was on the last ship.

N. THEME XIII: OFFICERS ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE NAVY'S "12-12-5 PLAN"

1. Theme

This theme blends together a number of themes covering recruitment, retention, downsizing, racism and other issues. Many officers expressed doubt that the Navy could achieve its "12-12-5" plan goal, particular with respect to the recruitment of Black officers.

2. Justification

The goal of 12 percent Black representation among new officers in the Navy was viewed with guarded skepticism. Varying degrees of doubts surfaced. To set goals that correspond to the racial mix of the general population is a bold undertaking for any organization. To set goals that correspond to the racial mix of the general population for accessing and retaining Naval officers is not just a bold undertaking, according to the sample, it is unrealistic.

There were some interesting views expressed about the recruitment of minority officers in the quest to reach the proposed goals. Since several members of NNOA are included in the sample of interviewees, most were actively involved in recruiting, at the least, through informal channels. Two interviewees said that they had served formally as recruiters. The insight offered by both formal and informal recruiters was beneficial to the study because the personal motivation attached to the individual's involvement

allowed them momentary separation from the Navy's interest. With open-ended questions, personal perceptions of the "12-12-5" plan were readily offered:

One Lieutenant (222) described the goal as "patronizing":

Well, for one, I think the first thing they (the Navy) have to do is they can't patronize people ... Because that's automatically going to turn somebody off. I mean, when I first read about 12-12-5 I was like, what kind of piece of s___ is this ... somewhat patronizing. Like, look at what the Navy has for you, instead of going out there saying 'we recognize that these skills exist. Just like MIT can offer you this type of scholarship, the Navy can offer you this scholarship, and not only will the Navy offer you this scholarship, you're got guaranteed four or five years employment after that. And of course, they need to see more of us doing that (referring to recruitment).

In support of "they need to see more of us doing that," Lieutenant (222) related the following situation concerning recruitment:

I don't know that the Navy's approach has worked all that well ... in the Bay area, we had the recruiters from the NRD come to our NNOA meeting. All I saw was these two White boys ... trying to do minority recruiting. Well, if I'm a Black female or a Black male, and some White boy is trying to tell me 'the Navy has great opportunities for minorities,' I'm looking at them and they're not minority. What are they going to do to inspire me? What do they know about my background and what kinds of things I'm considering ... that they could use to persuade me? I don't think they can. They can use every sales tactic the Navy has to offer ... I know, for me, a White person would not be able to convince me.

Another Lieutenant (333), who had earlier worked as a recruiter, shared most of the sentiments of Lieutenant (222). However, she differed when discussing the race of individual recruiters. Lieutenant (333) had this to say about recruiting and the "12-12-5" plan:

I think they do the right thing when they get the best, and brightest officers to go into recruiting to represent the Navy and to get the kids excited about being a part of the organization. I

think that's true whether they use Black or White officers. I really do. I think that when you are talking to college kids who can possibly get selected into the Navy, these kids are looking at pretty much the same thing I was looking at. I wanted to belong to an organization that's kind of respected but, at the same time, they're take care of my needs and things. So, I think that if we have any intelligent, motivated persons who are going out with the message that we want you, I think the kids will come onboard. Not only do we want you, but we have something to offer you. Black kids will come onboard ... The trend I'm seeing now is that a lot of people that they are letting come into recruiting, as far as for officer programs, they're on their way out ... they're working on their degree ... This is almost like their twilight tour as a Lieutenant ... They're not career people. They are not even next tour people.

One Lieutenant (777) believes that recruiting efforts are sufficient and considers that the true obstacle to attaining "12-12-5" may well rest with retention:

If they are serious, I would say the recruiting effort is going fine. The minorities are being obtained. The problem is after they get in ... and the training they have to go through, the things they are confronted with. Get past the training ... then we've got to deal with people that want to make you feel as though you're an idiot and you just slipped through the crack ... and it all boils down to a department head or CO or somebody that did not like this individual for some reason ... it does not have anything to do with the fact that this person was not intelligent enough to cut it. It has to do with the fact that those other extenuating circumstances of that mentality [Earlier, the LT explained the mentality ... 'basically, it's a racist mentality, white superiority. Blacks, you can't do this because you're not good enough to do that'] that I keep alluding to, found a way to be of primary importance in the picture ... If we are going to improve our Navy, something has to be done about that.

When asked his input or action to help achieve "12-12-5" goals, a Commander (GGG) immediately related the question to personnel attrition. His one suggestion rested with the reviewing officer:

One suggestion I have is to review the reviewing officers' records. Everyone has their own biases, and they make decisions ... unconsciously, they're not aware of what they are doing. They think everything is even. But, they're making decisions on their past experiences, growing up, things they've heard, things they've seen on television. When those aren't all the facts. It's not always their fault that they may ding on you on something when they just assume you aren't qualified. So, they automatically give you a lower mark.

A Lieutenant Commander (CCC) had plenty to say about the "12-12-5" plan. She first pointed to the big jump between the 3 or 4 percent goals in place when she entered the Navy and the 12 percent now in place. She also spoke about to the way people look at the Navy and that the history in the Black community will not help us (the Navy) achieve these goals. She felt that efforts (such as O'HARP and SEMINAR) must be taken in the communities to increase acceptance and awareness of the Navy so that the Black community will better embrace or associate with Naval Service.

The perception (of the Navy) is still a bad one, a negative one, at least in a lot of the young people we want to recruit. I think it, 12-12-5 is very challenging, but I also think at this point, unfortunately to me, it's a bit unrealistic. How do we double a goal that we've never reached the previous one? ... That was my frustration ... I want an increment. You can't just go from 4.7 to twelve. I mean, you can because they did. But is that realistic? ... First of all, look toward enlisted. I've always thought David Robinson should do a commercial where he's on the basketball court, he'd walk off and he appears in the Navy uniform en route to his ship.

Lieutenant Commander (CCC) went on to add certain other ideas for commercials which she thought would have more appeal for the targeted urban audience.

Another Lieutenant Commander (AAA) had this to say about "12-12-5":

Well, I think some of what I have to say is basically a reiteration of what some of the Navy's research has kind of pointed out over

the last few years. As I understand it now, we are bringing in the proper numbers to reach those goals. Where I think we are failing is making the Navy a comfortable place for our mid-grade officers to want to stick around. I refuse to believe that qualified minority officers don't measure up to the scrutiny of promotion boards to be picked up for their first time in numbers consistent with American demographics. I mean, simply put we are not dirt bags ... I think what the Navy is doing to revitalize the rating system, fitness report, could possibly help. But I honestly think that with the code words that fitness report are written with, it's possible for a minority officer to think that they've gotten a very, very good fitness report, a very, very good pat on the back, and actually, got the knife in the back ... I think when promotion boards are forced to go all the way back to your earliest fitness reports to make a decision as to whether you're qualified for promotion, minority officers get weeded out in that process ... The key is to retain folks. If folks feel like they're not getting a fair shake and they get discouraged, then they get out.

A Lieutenant Commander (AAA), took the opportunity to talk about retention -- noting that stay-leave decisions are made at the crucial junctions in one's career; the first near the end of an initial obligation, then at the six-to-eight year point and, finally, as one comes up for the Lieutenant Commander selection board. He further added:

... some folks (Blacks) feel like they have been misunderstood. Other folks (Blacks) feel like they've gone through enough hardship in the military, some of the subtle racism that some of us see day in and day out, some of the subtle disrespect that juniors may give you, whether it's imagined or actual, because of your race. They feel like ... as civilians ... have more freedom to directly confront the problem without fear of reprisal.

One Lieutenant, (III) when asked his view of "12-12-5" stated succinctly that he did not think the goal could ever be achieved. He was then informed of the percentage increase over the past decade or so and was asked, based on those increases, what did he think the Navy was doing right. His response was:

I don't think they're doing anything right ... to me, because of what I've seen, the system -- there's a lot of talk and rhetoric that the system does. I think what's going right and why those numbers are increasing is because of individuals like myself and you that are actually out there talking to the people and actually going out there and being those role models. The system is putting everything out there (regulations, criterion, goals). But it's (increasing the minority representation) not being actively pursued, so I disagree on that point. ... The Department of the Navy, being a part of the Department of Defense, the federal government, has to show progress and equal opportunity as well as any other government agency. So, therefore they have to take the necessary steps ... as long as they can justify an increase over the years, a progressive increase, then they can attribute that to the goals that they have set, whether they have anything to do with it or not. But as far as reaching 12-12-5, I tell you what, I won't see it.

He conceded that the Navy could do more to achieve the goal, by drawing more officers from the rank-and-file, doing more outreach with colleges, and giving ROTC units more funds to go out in surrounding communities. He also recommended that the Navy should recognize NNOA as an important resource: "what better role models and what better speakers does the Navy have to go out there and do the job itself?"

A Lieutenant (J5) agreed with goals and wondered why minority representation is still so low:

I think that they are good goals and I think any time now in the current political posture that we're in, we talk about goals and things like that, it brings up that whole question of affirmative action and people thinking well, if we get 12 percent minority officers, it's not that they're deserving, but they're just reaching some quota or something like that. Of course, I disagree with people who would have sentiments like that. I think that there's probably -- the military, the armed forces as it currently stands should definitely be at least 12 percent Black and 12 percent Hispanic and 5 percent Asian and Pacific Islanders or whatever, and the fact that we are less than half of those numbers I think speaks volumes for how bad the situation is in this country really.

A Chief Warrant Officer (J6) expressed this strong opinion:

I don't think they're going to be -- I, to be serious about it, I don't think they're really going to reach it. They've been playing this game for a long time. Before it was 6 percent, now it's 12 percent. They couldn't make the 6 percent, so how are they going to make the 12 percent. I mean, when you're standing outside the body bank there watching that revolving door, there's more Black officers coming out that door than there is going in. So, how -- how are you going to do it. And when these guys are going back home, they're telling people of their experiences. So, the Navy has got to come up with a different game of enticement to try to get people to come in.

A Lieutenant (J8) spoke of the need for better public relations to reverse a negative image of the Navy and military as a whole:

What I like -- before I came here I did hometown recruiting in the D.C. area, and I enjoyed that a lot because I got into the high schools and to some of the middle schools and a lot of the little kids were saying, 'man, you're Black and you're in the military. Man, I heard the military is racist, they're this, they're that, you don't get treated fairly, my uncle was in the Army back in the '70s and he said he got treated in such and such a way. There's no way I would join the military.' I think if the Navy is, and the military as a whole is going to change that perception, they need to go out and do a little bit more PR in some of the Black communities or in some of the minority communities and say hey, it isn't as bad as you think it is. I think a lot of people don't know of the opportunities because I know a lot of Black professionals that never even considered joining the military, going through college, and even afterwards, it was never an option. I don't know why, I don't know if they weren't aware of the benefits or some of the good things that can come out of it, but it was never a consideration and I think the Navy ought to go out and try to do a better PR job ...

A Lieutenant (J12) suggested greater use of minority officers in outreach programs:

Um, probably - what I think you need to do is have young Black officers, probably like myself and like you, to go and to talk to the minorities, and have the Lieutenants and whatnot that are -- they're not -- maybe not on recruiting duty, but wherever they're stationed, just maybe they can go and meet with young Black men and Hispanic men and Asian men and talk to them about the Navy and your experience and let them know that "hey, look at me, I made it, I'm doing okay, and you can, too," that kind of thing. I think that would be good.

Another Lieutenant (J31) spoke of the need for enhancing the Navy's image:

I foresee it being a difficult task on the military because we are putting as many Black officers out as we are bringing in and there are statistics around to show that there are some differences in that level. We have to make it more colorful to the young troops. We don't have to be erroneous in the presentations we give them, but we need to be realistic. In order to do that it has to start at a much younger stage, not when people are ... in college -- in high school, we as a nation ought to ensure that every individual knows that he or she is going to be respected for his or her abilities regardless of what his ethnicity is.

One Lieutenant (J51) suggested a strategy for recruiting and retention, underscoring the existence of racial tension:

We need -- if you want strategy, you need to say well, if you stay in, you're going to be recognized and promoted. Look how many we've promoted to Admiral, Admiral ranks. And I don't know if we can do that. I don't know if we're willing to make that kind of a move, even the -- the areas that you see people in -- I think that has to work more toward minorities. I was at an air station, I could count the number of Black pilots that came through that place on one hand. And they need to see that. They need to see the Black pilots out there in the Navy flying and having -- and they catch it worse than I do as a chaplain, much worse -- the tension, the racial tension that they are put under.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. OVERVIEW

The Department of Defense budget continues to decrease. The Navy's top leadership confronts some difficult issues. One such issue is the racial/ ethnic composition of the Navy in the years ahead. The decision has been made to increase minority representation without jeopardizing combat effectiveness or mission efficiency. This decision will assuredly be a challenging task in view of the demographic constraints and the expanding competition to recruit qualified minorities in both the public and private sectors.

The vast majority of the officers interviewed in this study support the Navy's current goal to recruit 12 percent Black, 12 percent Hispanic, and 5 percent Asian/Pacific Islanders for its officer corps. Indeed, many interviewees noted that, as the total number of officers declines through the year 2000 or 2001, targeted recruitment should cause the percentage of minorities, particularly Blacks, to climb steadily. Since the higher goal of 12 percent for Black representation--compared with the goal of 6 percent in previous years--is backed by Navy leadership with financial support and well-planned programs (see Chapter III), the expectation is that a substantial gain in minority recruitment will occur over the next several years. However, recruitment alone will not raise the total number of minorities in the Navy's officer corps. Navy leadership must additionally focus on retaining qualified minorities in service and offering attractive career opportunities on a continuing basis.

It was with this understanding that the present study of Black Naval officers was undertaken. Several common themes emerged from the interviews.

B. MAJOR THEMES AS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER V INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- THEME I. MOST OFFICERS WERE FROM A TWO-PARENT HOUSEHOLD

- THEME II. SOME MILITARY BACKGROUND WAS PRESENT, GENERALLY ARMY
- THEME III. SELF-RECRUITMENT WAS PREVALENT
- THEME IV. ROLE MODELS WERE CREDITED WITH THE DECISION TO ENTER
- THEME V. MAJOR REASONS FOR JOINING THE NAVY WERE EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT
- THEME VI. EXPERIENCES TEND TO VARY BY COMMISSIONING SOURCE
- THEME VII. MANY MINORITIES BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE TO DO MORE THAN WHITES TO GAIN THE SAME RECOGNITION
- THEME VIII. INTERVIEWEES TEND TO BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN SLIGHTED IN TERMS OF RESPECT OR REWARDS
- THEME IX. A VAST MAJORITY FEEL MOST REWARDED WHEN TRUSTED TO PERFORM AND WHEN HELPING SUBORDINATES
- THEME X. RACE (AND RACISM) IS A CONSISTENT, UNDERLYING FACTOR IN ALL THEMES
- THEME XI. MOST OFFICERS PLAN TO RETIRE
- THEME XII. DOWNSIZING CONCERNS TEND TO FOCUS ON BOTH ORGANIZATIONAL AND PERSONAL ELEMENTS
- THEME XIII. OFFICERS ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE NAVY'S "12-12-5 PLAN"

These themes were evaluated within the context of Navy recruiting and retention. The evaluation, in turn, has led to the following conclusions and recommendations:

C. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Conclusion

There is still a fair amount of confusion concerning the course of the downsizing and the effect it may have on an individual's career in the officer corps.

2. Recommendations

Ensure, through public statements and internal communications, that there is a clear understanding of the force downsizing among minority officers or potential officers. Prospective candidates for commissioning--as well as those who influence the decisions of minorities (such as parents, teachers, ministers, coaches and so on) -- need to know that the Navy beckons with many opportunities, even though it is reducing its size and cutting back in other ways. This type of information will help alleviate any confusion, insecurities, or misconceptions that may exist in the minority community.

3. Conclusion

Many officers feel that various forms of racial discrimination are still present in the Navy -- despite continuing efforts to create a "color blind" environment.

4. Recommendation

Investigate ways to make equal opportunity training available to all Navy personnel. Education is a key component in implementing change in any organization. Although integration and the elimination of racial discrimination in the Navy has been occurring for more than 50 years, it is critical to point out that segregation and discrimination have existed to some extent in the "American" culture for nearly 376 years. Reminding people that racial biases are socially constructed will not in itself eliminate the biases, nor will education. However, education in conjunction with a total leadership commitment are essential elements in bringing about positive change.

5. Conclusion

It seems that when Blacks experience incidents of racial biases, they tend to accept it as practice. There is also an uneasiness to report such incidents or to minimize them.

6. Recommendation

Ensure that avenues are available for individuals to report the incidence of racial bias without any fear of reprisal. It is important that individuals be able to freely raise issues or concerns regarding their perceptions of racial bias or discrimination. Too many times, the higher echelons in a chain of command are insulated from the lower echelons by the very nature of the Navy's organizational structure. This insulation is warranted, in most cases, because of the division of responsibilities afforded by rank in the Navy. However, sometimes the attitudes of subordinates are not known or shared by the leaders and the leaders' specific attitudes may not have filtered down to every level of the chain of command. This insulation, in some instances, shields the racial climate from the very ones that can make positive changes.

7. Conclusion

Many Black Officers feel that there is too much subjectivity in the Navy selection and evaluation processes.

8. Recommendation

Remove subjectivity from the fitness report and various career determining boards. Although a photograph is important in identifying officers who are combat casualties, there is no good reason to link a person's photograph with his or her performance. The officer fitness report details the accomplishments of individuals, rates their performance, and ranks them among their peers. The fitness report, however, does not explicitly identify race. The photograph does. The enlisted service has managed to conduct its evaluations without the use of a photograph. Why, then, must a photograph be attached to materials used in an officer's evaluation? If the institution insists

on having a photograph present in one's record, why not place the photograph in the medical record of the service member?

Instructions should also be clear concerning the unacceptable use of stereotypical words or "code words" in fitness reports. Referring to an officer's ability to "interact with the minority crew members" is one example. Other examples, mentioned by interviewees, are references to one's physical stature as "athletically built," and grades of "B" in judgement and penmanship on fitness Reports. To the extent possible, remove the opportunities to inject subjectivity into the evaluation process of various career-determining boards.

9. Conclusion

A number of Black officers have experienced overt racism.

10. Recommendation

As noted in Chapter V, several officers related instances of perceived racial bias. It goes without saying that the Navy must do everything possible to eliminate such problems. Interviewees concede that the Navy is simply a "cross-section of American society" and that racism will perhaps always be present. In view of that, there should be a "common ground," as one of the interviewees put it, or a meeting of the minds to work out these difficulties and differences.

The Navy needs to confront the lingering presence of racism head on. And, in order to do this, certain rules have to be enforced. Additionally, there should be an open discussion of existing problems. Just as the Navy approached the issue of sexual harassment, racism needs to be reported forthrightly and handled with "zero tolerance." If individuals who experience discrimination or who are regularly experiencing racial problems of any sort are silent and accepting, then the institution will never change. So, something has to be done.

A factor of great importance in removing any problems within the organization is the degree to which an individual becomes actively involved in solving the problem. From a leadership standpoint, one must realize that

cultures and subcultures are a fact of life, and recommending that someone accept an outsider into their culture is paramount to asking someone to be someone else. So, it must be understood that a blending of cultures does not necessarily mean that one is ignoring his or her own culture. It also does not mean that one is adopting someone else's culture at the expense of their own.

In American society, however, cultures and subcultures abound. There are also various blends of cultures, including the Navy culture. Although, the Navy was likely constructed as a White culture initially, there has always been some minority participation (see Chapter III). The issue of racial integration is simply evolving on another level. Integration of the Navy over the years has always been a slow and challenging process.

11. Conclusion

Many Black officers feel that do not get the same opportunities as their White counterparts to enter, advance or be promoted within the Navy's officer corps.

12. Recommendation

An officer is recruited, trained, and then assigned to a job or billet. At this point, there is a reasonable expectation for the officer to perform at a certain level of his or her ability. As a practice, every Naval command has a Standard Shipboard Organization and Regulation Manual (SSORM) and a Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) manual that assist the Commanding Officer and the chain of command in defining an officer's job or billet within that command. If an officer meets and exceeds the expectations of the command (and subsequently the Navy), then the officer should be given the same considerations as his or her counterparts, with appropriate rewards based on merit. Of course, if one consistently gives his or her best and does well--and is consistently overlooked or ignored because of racial inequity--it stands to reason that the individual's motivation will suffer. By the same token, if one is forced to endure racial stereotypes, subtle comments, and sometimes blatant

remarks, that person's level of comfort and performance will undoubtedly be affected as well.

13. Conclusion

Black officers who are aware of the Senior Enlisted Program (SEMINAR) program are actively participating in it.

14. Recommendation

Several interviewees discussed their participation in the SEMINAR program. The program sends minority officers to their hometown or a nearby college or university location to assist in recruiting efforts while they are under Permanent Change of Station (PCS) orders. The Navy should seek to expand the Seminar Program. The Navy Recruiting Command should also explore other means of using minority officers to assist in recruiting on an adjunct basis.

15. Conclusion

There is very little awareness of the Navy in predominantly Black communities, particularly within churches and schools.

16. Recommendation

Awareness of Navy opportunities can be increased in predominantly Black communities by having recruiting personnel visit schools more often, talk with parents, and visit barbershops, beauty salons, and churches. When visiting these communities, recruiters should be carefully instructed not to patronize people. They should simply point out what the Navy has to offer: for example, national scholarships and a guaranteed job for the next four to six years. The Navy should also attempt to use more minority recruiters, not just area minority recruiters who are basically there to take over for White recruiters once a potential minority candidate is located. This may mean that the total number of Black recruiters has to be increased. The sight of Black officers in uniform will leave a more lasting impression on minorities being recruited than the mere mention of Black officers in uniform.

The Navy should attempt to expand its NJROTC programs in high schools that have a with large minority enrollment. Minority members already in the Navy should be encouraged to get involved. For instance, midshipmen who are currently in the pipeline should be allowed to go back to their high schools to let people know what's going on. Just as the Navy sends them on midshipmen cruises each summer, the Navy could give them an extra week off each spring to visit their old high school and talk to minority students about career opportunities in the officer corps. This may apply to junior high school as well as to high school.

The Navy should increase its advertising in the Black media. The Navy needs to get in touch with the readers of, for example, *Ebony Magazine*, *Ebony Men*, *Jet Magazine*, *ESSENCE*, and *Black Enterprise*. The Navy should also familiarize itself with the Black Entertainment Television (BET) network and get some commercials on the air. The commercials should have some urban diversity in their delivery, utilizing the talents of, say, Baby Face and L.P. or Jimmy Jam and Terry Lewis, to name a few. The Navy must boldly proclaim that it is offering scholarships and opportunities to Blacks, and it should do this regardless of the external political climate. The Navy also has to alleviate the perception that it is a "White man's club." Get the word out to colleges and universities, all of them, but particularly HBCUs, about programs such as the Bachelor Degree Completion Program (BDCP). Get the word out to individuals in the Navy, as well, about the BDCP. High schools with a large minority population should be prime candidates for NJROTC programs. And if they already have such programs, perhaps these programs can be expanded.

17. Conclusion

There is a growing concern that the Navy is utilizing too many recruiters who do not have the organization's best interests at heart.

18. Recommendation

Cease the trend of detailing personnel who are separating from the Navy to recruiting assignments. (This implies that people separating from the service do not have the best interest of the military as first priority.) By not detailing the best officers into recruitment billets the Navy may never meet its new minority recruitment goal. A goal as lofty as the "12-12-5 Plan" requires a dedicated work force. A force that is willing to search the HBCUs and, when doing so, represent a very positive professional image.

19. Conclusion

Blacks tend to join the Navy's officer corps for opportunities, employment, and related financial reasons.

20. Recommendation

It is clear that educational opportunities and economic concerns are strong motivators for qualified Blacks to seek a commission in the Navy. This should not come as "news" for those involved in recruiting and retaining racial/ethnic minorities for the Navy. Indeed, researchers have long observed that Blacks tend to join the military -- at both the enlisted and officer level-- because of "push-pull" forces. "Pushing" minorities are problems or inequities in civilian society, as the military's promise of education, training, experience, and equitable treatment provide the "pull." Perhaps, a failure of recruiting in the past has centered on the fact that the Navy's "message" of opportunities has not been transmitted as effectively as possible to potential candidates for the officer corps in the Black community.

D. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Conduct further research on Blacks (and other minorities) in the officer corps. This research by its very nature, is limited in its ability to predict and generalize. Only 100 minority officers were interviewed as part of this study. In addition, there were just two interviewers. It would be difficult to generalize for 2,500, maybe 3,000, Black officers based on the beliefs and perceptions of

100, but this is a substantial start. An effort should be made to get input from every individual Black officer currently serving in the Navy/Marine Corps and/or in the commissioning pipeline. These officers should be asked: what is working and not working; what should and should not be changed; what do they see now; what expectations do they hold for the future?

It should be noted that a follow-on thesis is being conducted. This follow-on thesis will consist of conducting interviews of minority Marine Corps Officers and the development of a survey. Our recommendation (Lt Stigler and Lt Jones) is that the follow-on researcher pilot test and administer this survey. Due to the small number of minority officers in the Navy and the Marine Corps, it is further recommended that a mail survey be used in an attempt to reach 100 percent of the population. To ensure an excellent survey return rate, researchers should obtain the assistance of the Navy's Office of Equal Opportunity, the Bureau of Naval Personnel, and, especially, the NNOA.

APPENDIX A. NAVY DESIGNATOR BREAKOUT

DESIGNATOR	NUMBER
2300	25
1110	18
1700	13
3100	8
2900	5
1310	4
2500	4
4100	4
1460	3
1706	2
1527	2
6462	2
1650	2
2105	2
6412	1
7421	1
7341	1
1320	1
5100	1
1440	1
<hr/>	
TOTAL	100

APPENDIX B. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA (n=100)

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS	NUMBER
GENDER	
Male	74
Female	26
RANK	
Chief Warrant Officer	2
Ensign	3
Lieutenant (JG)	7
Lieutenant	56
Lieutenant Commander	17
Commander	8
Captain & Above	7
COMMISSIONING SOURCE	
Naval Academy	6
NROTC	27
OCS	28
Direct*	37
Other	2
SERVICE ENTRY REGION	
North	12
South	14
East	42
West	29
Philippines	3
ETHNIC ORIGIN	
Black	88
Asian/Pacific Islander	7
Hispanic	5

* In-Service Procurement Officers are included in the Direct Commission numbers.

APPENDIX C. INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

My name is _____. I am conducting research for my thesis at the Naval Postgraduate School. As I discussed with you earlier, I'm doing a study on minorities in the military and on military career choices, and particularly I would like to learn what attracted you to the Navy. During the interview, I will ask you questions about your family, what led you to join, and about your most and least rewarding experiences as a naval officer. I want to emphasize that this interview is confidential. Anything I hear here today will only be used in aggregate form. Mention of individual places, names, or commands will be deleted upon transcription of the information to paper. I'd like for you to state for the record that you consent to being recorded. Also, first, I would like to complete this data sheet."

On the interview information sheet the interviewers requested name, which was optional, and later deleted from the process, age, sex of the individual being interviewed, race or ethnic background, which later was categorized as Black/African American, Hispanic, or Asian/Pacific Islanders, number of brothers, number of sisters, the interviewee's birth order, mother's occupation while they were growing up, highest grade their mother completed, father's occupation, highest grade their father completed, marital status of the individual being interviewed at entry into the Navy, the number of children the interviewee had at entry into the Navy, marital status of the individual during the interview, and number of children at the time of the interview. Also included were length of time on active duty and length of time in rank. The interviewers also requested region of the country from which the individual was recruited, and individual's designator. If there was a change in designation, it was noted. The rank of the individual, commissioning date of the individual,

commissioning source of the individual, area of undergraduate degree of the individual, undergraduate school of the individual, and whether there was graduate school or enlisted experience of the individual were all noted.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What factors led you to selecting the Navy/USMC as a career?
2. Of those factors, which do you consider to have had most bearing on your decision?
3. Did your father serve in the military, and if so, which branch?
4. Did other members of your immediate family serve in the military, and if so, which branch?
5. Did their serving have any major influence on your choice to serve in the Navy/USMC?
6. Were you heavily recruited to seek a commission in the sea service? (Heavily = Approached on several occasions)
7. Prior to entering the Navy/USMC, did you know any Naval or Marine Corps officers? How many were minorities?
8. Prior to entering the Navy/USMC, did you know any Army or Air Force officers? How many were minorities?
9. How many minority officers and total officers served with you at your first command? What about subsequent commands?
10. Given the numbers, what are your feelings on the mix?
11. If efforts to reach a minority representation of 12/12/5 percent are to succeed, what recommendations do you offer?
12. Did you receive a letter from the CNO in the latter part of 1994 (dated August - September) asking you to identify at least one highly motivated minority for NROTC or USNA attendance? Have you identified that individual?

13. How would you assess the Navy's approach to officer recruiting prior to you exercising your option to join?
14. What do you think is wrong with the Navy's present approach of recruiting minorities to their officer programs?

APPENDIX D: DATA TEMPLATE

PART A: DEMOGRAPHICS

Respondent #:

Rank:

Brothers: # Sisters:

Birth Order:

Marital Status at Entry:

Number of Children at Entry:

Marital Status -- Present:

Number of Children -- Present:

Area of Country Entered:

Education:

Source of Commission:

Date of Commission:

LOS:

Enlisted Service:

PART B: RESPONSES

Reason for Entry:

Education of Parents:

Education of Parents: Father: Mother:

Parent's Occupations: Father: Mother:

Parent's Military Background: Father: Mother:

Relatives Military Background:

Earliest Desire to Enter:

Role Models:

Recruiters:

Experiences at Commissioning Source:

Experiences as Black Officer (1st Command):

Least Rewarding Experience:

Most Rewarding Experience:

Downsizing:

Retirement

12-12-5 % Recommendations:

Recruitment:

Retention:

Race (Help/Harm):

Race and Career Choices:

Freedom to Comment Portion:

LIST OF REFERENCES

1. Secretary of the Navy, "Recruitment of Minority Officers", Memorandum, June 17, 1994, p.1.
2. Billingsley, Andrew, *Black Families in White America*, Prentice Hall, 1968, p. 28.
3. Wright, Bruce, *Black Robes, White Justice*, Carol Publishing Company, 1987, p. 189.
4. Coates, Charles H., and Pellegrin, Roland, *Military Sociology: A Study of American Institutions and Military Life*, Human Resources Research Organization, 1988, p. 340.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 341.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
10. Stillwell, Paul, *The Golden Thirteen: Recollections of the First Black Naval Officers*, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland, 1993, p. 197.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
12. Nelson, Dennis D., *The Integration of the Negro Into the United States Navy*, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1951, p. 94.
13. Coates, Charles H., and Pellegrin, Roland, *op. cit.*, Ref. 4, p. 389.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
15. Stillwell, Paul, *op. cit.*, Ref. 10, pp. 18-19.
16. Nelson, Dennis D., *op. cit.*, Ref. 12, p. 99.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
18. Stillwell, Paul, *op. cit.*, Ref. 10, p. 95.

19. Nelson, Dennis D., *op. cit.*, Ref. 12, p. 103.
20. Stillwell, Paul, *op. cit.*, Ref. 10, p. 97.
21. Bennett, Lerone, *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*, Johnson Publishing Company, 1988, p. 578.
22. Nelson, Dennis D., *op. cit.*, Ref. 12, p. 129.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
24. Coates, Charles H., and Pellegrin, Roland, *op. cit.*, Ref. 4, p. 350.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
27. Pinkney, Alphonso, *Black Americans*, Prentice Hall, 1969, pp. 158-159.
28. Doering and Hutzler, *Officer and Enlisted Personnel*, Prentice Hall, 1988, pp. 180-184.
29. Northrup, Herbert, *Black and Other Minority Participation in the All-Volunteer Navy and Marine Corps*, The Wharton School, 1979, p. 83.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
31. Binkin, Martin, and Eitelberg, Mark, *Becoming Brass: Issues in the Testing, Recruiting and Selecting of American Military Officers*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992, p. 186.
32. Department of Defense, Human Rights Charter, 1990, p. 3.
33. United States Navy Equal Opportunity Program, Vol. 1, 1994.
34. Northrup, Herbert, *op. cit.*, Ref. 29, p. 78.
35. Weimer, George, "Quotas and Other Dumb Ideas," *Industry Week*, Vol. 241, No. 7, April 6, 1992, p. 86.
36. Human Resources Research Organization (HUMRRO) Study, 1975, p. 8.
37. North, James, and Cymrot, Donald, *Perspectives on Minority Officer Success Rates in the Marine Corps*, Center for Naval Analyses, 1994, p. 20.

38. Seligman, Daniel, "Where Quotas Came From," *Fortune*, Vol. 129 No. 11, May 30, 1994, p. 174.
39. Weimer, George, *op. cit.*, Ref. 35, p. 86.
40. Binkin, Martin, and Eitelberg, Mark, *op. cit.*, Ref. 31.
41. United States Navy Equal Opportunity Program, Vol. 1, 1994.
42. Bowen, Donald D., and Hisrich, Robert D., "The Female Entrepreneur: A Career Development Perspective," *Academy of Management Review*, 1986, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 393-407.
43. Sonnenfeld, J., and Kotter, John P., "Maturation of Career Theory," *Journal of Human Relations*, Vol. 35, pp. 19-46.
44. Glaser, B., and Strauss, A., *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Aldine, Chicago, 1967.
45. Nelson, Dennis D., *op. cit.*, Ref.12.
46. Binkin, Martin, and Eitelberg, Mark, *op. cit.*, Ref. 31.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Roebuck, C., and Murtz, J., *Historically Black Colleges and Universities*, Clark Publishing, 1993, p. 10.
49. Webb, Wellington E., "Military Leadership," *Ebony Magazine*, January 1993, p. 102.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Cross, John G., *A Theory of Adaptive Economic Behavior*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, 1984.

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Defense Technical Information Center
Cameron Station
Alexandria, Virginia 22304-6145 | 2 |
| 2. | Library, Code 52
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943-5101 | 2 |
| 3. | Professor Mark J. Eitelberg
Code SM/Eb
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943 | 6 |
| 4. | Professor Alice Crawford
Code SM/Cr
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943 | 7 |
| 5. | Professor Gail Thomas
Code SM/Fa
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943 | 6 |
| 6. | Health Resources Center
Root Hall
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943 | 1 |
| 7. | Office of the Chief of Naval Personnel (PERS-61)
Bureau of Naval Personnel
2 Navy Annex
Washington, D.C. 20370-2000 | 1 |
| 8. | Lieutenant James E. Jones
Office of Manpower, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery
Code 15
2300 East Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20372-5300 | 2 |
| 9. | Lieutenant Willie J. Stigler
338 Davis Street
Portsmouth, Rhode Island 02871 | 2 |

10. Tess Miller, J.D.
4180 Sunridge Road
Pebble Beach, California 93953

1